













Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi  
Fasc. V

SECRETUM SECRETORUM  
CUM GLOSSIS ET NOTULIS

TRACTATUS BREVIS ET UTILIS  
AD DECLARANDUM QUEDAM OBSCURE DICTA

FRATRIS ROGERI

NUNC PRIMUM EDIDIT  
ROBERT STEELE

ACCEDUNT  
VERSIO ANGLICANA EX ARABICO EDITA PER  
A. S. FULTON

VERSIO VETUSTA ANGLO-NORMANICA NUNC  
PRIMUM EDITA

OXONII  
E TYPOGRAPHEO CLARENDOIANO  
M CM XX

E 765  
B 2

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK  
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY  
HUMPHREY MILFORD  
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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## PREFACE

THE issue of this series has been interrupted by the war, and this volume has been interpolated, for several reasons, somewhat out of its proper place in the order of Bacon's unpublished work, partly out of a consideration of the great importance of the text on which he comments, and partly on account of its influence on his whole work. Mediaeval students will be glad to learn that the publication of the whole of Bacon's work now seems assured.

As before, I have to acknowledge the ready assistance of mediaeval scholars, among them Prof. A. G. Little, Mr. J. P. Gilson, Dr. Cowley, Dr. Henry Bradley, the Librarian of the Grand-Ducal Library of Saxe-Gotha, who forwarded for study two Arabic MSS. of the *Secretum Secretorum*, happily returned to him in safety, Mrs. Henry Dakyns, who many years ago copied out and prepared the text of *Le Secre de Secrez* with a view to joint publication elsewhere, to the Committee of the Bacon Commemoration of 1914, who have materially assisted in the preparation of this volume, and to others named in the Introduction.

ROBERT STEELE.

SAVAGE CLUB, W.C.

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## INTRODUCTION

THE text of the *Secretum Secretorum*, which is here printed as edited by Roger Bacon with his introductory treatise and glosses, is taken from a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian Library from which all other existing copies of his edition appear to have been derived. To complete the work and make it more generally useful to students of mediaeval literature, certain passages unknown to Bacon, but inserted by Achillini in his edition of 1501 from a Hebrew version of the Western recension, have been added, together with a literal translation of the original Arabic made under my supervision by Mr. Ismail Ali and edited by Mr. Fulton, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, who is preparing an edition of the Arabic text. This rendering will serve as a key to the Latin, and at the same time will show the remarkable accuracy of the original translation and the variation it has undergone.

The MS. (Tanner 116) is an English manuscript, which at one time belonged to Archbishop Sancroft. It is described in Hackman's Catalogue thus: 'Codex membranaceus in folio minore, ff. 111, sec. XIII exeuntis; binis columnis, haud eadem manu exaratus; olim peculium Jacobi Windet, ex dono Jacobi Everitti Antverpiensis.' It contains (1) R. B. tractatus ad declaranda quedam obscure dicta in libro Secreti Secretorum Aristotelis (here printed, pp. 1-24). (2) Extracts from Opus Tertium, &c., see p. 24. (3) *Secretum Secretorum* (here printed, pp. 25-172). (4) Tracts by Simon de Faversham, &c. It was apparently in English hands at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as it contains some verses in English by Robert Dey. Later copies (almost certainly of this manuscript) are Trinity Coll. Cambridge 1036 (fifteenth century) Fitzwilliam Mus. Camb. McClean 153 (fifteenth century), C.C.C. Ox. 149 (late fourteenth, Dr. Dee's copy).

A number of Bacon's notes are incorporated in a MS. of the *Secretum* in the British Museum MS. 12 E. xv, which afterwards belonged to Edward IV when a youth.

The date to be assigned to Bacon's share in this work lies between well-fixed limits. In the first place, the fact that he uses

the method of glossing would dispose us to put it early in his career. In the second, the fact that he alters the manuscripts before him when they treat of the length of the year (p. 80), preferring the worse to the better reading, shows that he had not, at the time of writing the note, arrived at the sense of the importance of accuracy in astronomy which he entertained, say, in 1267, when he wrote the Opus Majus. Thirdly, a number of the notes were written soon after his return to Oxford, after a stay in Paris (pp. 34, 38). I am therefore inclined to put the completion of the text and notes at some date before 1257, when he returned to Paris. The glosses, interlinear in the MS., are printed here immediately below the text as large-print notes.

The introductory treatise is much later. It must be some time after the comet of August, 1264 (p. 10<sup>22</sup>). It must even be after 1267. On p. 3<sup>14</sup> Bacon is very severe on 'glomerelli nescientes Grecum' for their confusion of 'matesis' and 'mathesis', translating the first as 'knowledge' and the second as 'divination'. Unfortunately he had in 1267 fallen into the same mistake (Op. Maj. i. 239<sup>15</sup>), and repeated it next year (Op. Tert., Brewer, p. 27<sup>6</sup>), though he corrected it in his Greek Grammar (p. 118<sup>2</sup>), and in his Mathematics. I am inclined to place the date of the introduction at about 1270, especially in view of Bacon's remarks about a forthcoming total eclipse (11<sup>22</sup>), which must refer either to that of June 13, 1276, visible in the polar regions, or of Oct. 28, 1277, visible in East Asia, which however did not become visible in England or France (unless the passage was written before the eclipse of May 25, 1267, visible in Italy).

The *Secretum Secretorum* exercised so great an influence on the mental development of Roger Bacon that merely on this ground a study of it would be interesting. From his first work to his last he quotes it as an authority, and there can be no doubt that it fortified, if it did not create, his belief in astrology and natural magic. It came to him and his contemporaries as an unquestioned work of Aristotle, which must have been known to exist for over a century, since it was quoted by Mesue, p. 273 (eleventh or twelfth century<sup>1</sup>) and a portion of it was translated c. 1135 in Spain, though Averroes in 1177 says, in his commentary to the Ethics (Lib. X *in fine*), that the 'de regimine vite' had not yet come into his hands. The

<sup>1</sup> He quotes, however, only from the intrusive 'de oculis', and even then not from any text known to us.

absence of a Greek text could make no difference to its reception—there was no original text known at the time of many other unquestioned works of Aristotle—though Bacon seems to have hypnotized himself into a belief that he had seen one (p. 172<sup>10</sup>).

The *Secretum* is perhaps the best known of that large family of works in which the man of the study takes upon himself the task of telling the man of affairs what he should do. Whistler is reported to have said that if artists went upon the Stock Exchange the qualities necessary to make them good painters would enable them to beat the men of business out of hand. No doubt the charlatan element in his own character would have carried him far on the road to success, though the state of his affairs does not lend support to his dictum. The long list of late classical treatises given by Mai in his *Scriptorum vet. nova coll. ii* is a proof of the popularity of the theme. There are several Arabic treatises of the kind, the relation of which to the *Secretum* is not close. Among these are B.M. Add. 7453 (the teaching of Aristotle, see p. 284), and the ‘*Peri Basileias*’ published in Arabic and Latin by Lippert in 1891 as a Halle dissertation. Giraldus Cambrensis wrote c. 1217 ‘*de principis instructione*’, ed. Warner, 1891, Guibert of Tournai ‘*eruditio regum et principum*’ (1259), Ptolemy of Lucca (d. 1322) ‘*de regimine principum ad regem Chypri*’, printed under the name of St. Thomas, Aegidius Colonna ‘*de regimine principum*’, the author of the ‘*liber de informatione principum*’ (1297–1314) translated into French by Jean Gollin in 1379. William Peraud, prior of the Dominicans at Lyon, ‘*de eruditione principum*’, also printed among the works of St. Thomas, Fray Francisco Ximenes, Bishop of Elenia, ‘*Crestia, regiment de princeps*’ (see Knust, p. 297). Other works are—John of Wales (d. 1303), ‘*Breviloquium*’, and Vincent of Beauvais, ‘*de regimine principum*’ (c. 1263).

The ‘*Somnium Pharaonis*’ of Jean de Launha or de Limoges is a very interesting work of this class, evidently written in consequence of the popularity of the *Secretum*. It is dedicated to Thibaut of Champagne, King of Navarre, and was once assigned to the early years of the thirteenth century. In that case it must be before 1216, but modern scholars put the date as about 1250, a much more probable one.

The book contains professedly the secret doctrine of Aristotle, the acroatic or esoteric teaching which he reserved for his most intimate disciples, as opposed to the exoteric learning put at the disposal of

the public generally. The distinction is one which dates from his own lifetime ; it was universally known, and amply accounts for the attribution of such a work as the *Secretum Secretorum* to Aristotle ; no student in the Middle Ages could be blamed for receiving it as possibly genuine, however different from the books he met with in the schools.

Had then the book any claim to a Greek origin ? I think not. Greek ideas, Greek commonplaces have been caught up into its text, Greek treatises have been incorporated with it, but the texture itself of the original work is oriental, not western. I believe it to have had its origin in the interaction between Persian and Syriac ideas which took place in the seventh to ninth centuries of our era, and probably at the same time as the Alexander legends studied by Dr. Budge.

It will perhaps be convenient to have a general summary of the history of the text, before going into particulars. No Syriac text has yet been found, though there is every probability that it has existed. The Arabic is found in two forms which I name provisionally Eastern and Western. Both obviously contain additions, but fortunately in the Western form the additions are nearly all at the end, while in the Eastern they are incorporated in the body of the work. By striking out these additions we get a fair idea of the text of the work, which can be most readily studied in Dr. Gaster's translation of the Hebrew version of the Western form, paragraphs 1-79 omitting 48. Though the list of discourses in the Eastern form is 10 and the Western 8 (or 7), the titles are the same and each is really in 10 discourses, though the Western calls some of them 'gates'.

A Latin translation of a part of the Western expanded text was made early in the twelfth century, but the whole text of the Eastern form was translated in the thirteenth century by Philip of Tripoli.

No Latin text corresponds in order or content to any Arabic text we know, and all the Latin texts we have are of the same general form. The tenth discourse of the Arabic is cut up, a great part omitted, the remainder displaced, part being added to the ninth, the rest to the second book. A new tenth book for the Latin is formed by taking the section on Physiognomy from the Arabic second book and making it a complete book. It seems possible that the Vulgate text thus formed is not the original Latin of Philip, but one edited by authority. The reasons are (1) Philip speaks in his introduction of geomancy. This (the calculation of the numerical values of

names and predictions therefrom) was in the original 'dictio decima', while there is no other trace of geomancy in any Latin text. (2) Bacon expressly tells us that most valuable sections of the text had been removed by dunderheads. (3) Though all the texts are Vulgate yet in some MSS. the chapter headings at the beginning show the Arabic order, e.g. physiognomy before justice, and the title 'dictio decima' in its right place, indicating that some MSS. must have existed with that arrangement. (4) In all the best Vulgate MSS. the proper ending of the (original) tenth book is preserved, and may be found at the end of Book II before Justice.

All the Latin MSS. are then of one main variety. They differ among themselves by omissions and additions, the principal additions being a chapter 'de oculis', another from Avicenna 'de viperis', and a note from Pliny as to the effect of the moon. Bacon's text is a variety of the Vulgate, modified by dividing it into four books, and adding new captions to the chapters. This text is otherwise a very good one, but it has had no effect on the MS. tradition.

The first printed Latin texts are very much abbreviated, printed from late fifteenth-century manuscripts. Two editions of the Vulgate text were printed before 1500. But in that year a composite text was printed for Achillini which had no manuscript authority. He seems to have got hold of the Hebrew version of the Western text, or of some early Latin version, and to have inserted its thirteenth and last section, which has no relation to the Eastern text, in suitable places of Philip's version. As the Achillini text is the one generally met with, this has caused a certain amount of confusion.

#### THE SYRIAC ORIGINAL.

In the introduction to the work as we now have it we are told that it was translated from Greek into Rumi, and from Rumi into Arabic, by Yuhanna ibn el-Batrik (or Ibn Yahya al-Baṭrīk). Rumi is the common word for Syriac, when it does not mean Greek, and Yuhanna, who died A.D. 815, was a well-known translator, physician of Al-Ma'mun, who is said to have rendered the *Politics* and the *Historia Animalium* into Syriac, and the *De caelo et mundo* and the *De anima* in epitome, with other works, into Arabic. There does not seem anything obviously unlikely about the statements that a Syrian text has existed, and that it was translated into Arabic about the beginning of the ninth century by Ibn al-Batrik, while it is to be hoped that English scholars, at any rate, have dropped the pose that

a manuscript attribution is a decisive argument against the supposed author or translator having any connexion with the work.

A curious confirmation of the possible existence of a Syriac version has lately turned up in the publication by Dr. Budge of a thirteenth-century collection of medical treatises and receipts in Syriac (*Syrian Anatomy, Pathology, and Therapeutics*, 2 vols., London, 1913). Among them (ii. 540) is the formula for calculating victory by taking the numerical value of the names of the generals and casting out the nines (see pp. lx, 250). This formula is identical with one which exists in both forms of the Arabic text, though it is omitted in the Vulgate Latin version.<sup>1</sup>

It is unlikely that the Syriac text, if it should ever be found, will bear the name of the Secret of Secrets. Perhaps the traditional name preserved by Al-Makin, *The Book of the knowledge of the Laws of Destiny*, or the *Kitab-al-siyasa* of Ibn Khaldun, its alternative title in Arabic, may afford some clue. It is quite possible, even, that the Syriac original may correspond to a part only of the original Arabic form.

Another passage of Al-Makin, giving alternative names, but evidently relating to the *Secretum*, runs thus :

' Aristotle translated the books of Hermes, an ancient sage of the country of Egypt, out of the Egyptian into the Greek language, and he explained in his translation the sciences, and wisdom, and knowledge which were derived from them, and among these books was the "Book of Astemgânôs" wherein were described the gods of the men of olden time . . . (and the worship of seven spirits).

' And besides this he wrote the book which is called "The Book of Astamatis" which treateth of the breaching of cities, and fortresses, and kings' houses, and of the submission of kings, and of how men should make use of talismans and of the knowledge derived therefrom, and of the names which will bring down rain and water to them in the desert and in the waste land, whosoever they utter them.

' And besides these he wrote a work which is called "El-Setûtas" wherein he treateth of the knowledge of the stars, and of lucky and unlucky days, and of what it is meet for men to do when the moon entereth among the eight-and-twenty stars, and among the twelve stars, and when new moon is of good or evil omen.

<sup>1</sup> See *Athenaeum*, July 26, 1913, and independently Dr. Gaster, *Journal of R. Asiat. Soc.*, April 1914.

'And he wrote other books which treat of the healing of animals' bodies, and of stones, and of trees, and of the stone which hath healing properties ; and the "Book of the Ladder" which resembleth his other books of science.'—Budge, *Alexander*, vol. ii, pp. 384-5.

Other Syriac versions of similar treatises, not now extant, have existed in the past. Thus in the preface to the pseudo-Aristotelian 'de lapidibus' (ed. Rose, *Zeit. für deutsches Alterthum*, N.F. xvi, 1875, p. 349) we find the statement : 'Hunc librum dedit magnus Aristotiles filius Nichomachi magister Alexandri Magni regis Phylippi regis Macedonum filii. Et ego transfero ipsum ex greco sermone in ydyoma syrorum.' A list of Syriac versions of Aristotle is found in Hottinger's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii. 219-41.

#### THE WESTERN ARABIC FORM.

The earliest version of the *Secretum Secretorum* in Arabic consisted originally of seven (Oxford Laud Or. 210) or eight 'discourses', to which, in all forms now known, a number of additional sections have been added, without any change being made in the prefatory announcement. The 'discourses' are of very unequal length ; the first, second, and third constitute the main body of the work, the other four or five being identical with the remaining seven of the longer version but split up differently. To this primitive work our MSS. add certain 'gates'—the treatise on Physiognomy, the 'regimen sanitatis', and a special discourse on alchemy and the properties of precious stones. No MS. follows the division into seven or eight 'discourses' it announces, all are in ten, the three additional 'gates' making thirteen.

It is in the seven-book form that it was known to Haji Khalfa, Mustafa ibn 'Abd Allah called Katib Chelebi (died 1658), who thus describes it under no. 10202 (I quote the Latin translation of his Encyclopedic list in Fluegel's edition): 'Kitab el siyasset, liber rectionis de republica administranda. Septem libri politicorum, quos Aristoteles Alexandro composuit, cum hic ab ipso vehementer petret, ut nonnulla scriberet, quae ei regula essent, ad quam illo absente recurrere potest. Librum Arabice verterunt'. The *Secretum* is again described under no. 7102 (vol. iii, p. 591): 'Sirr el asrar, arcanum arcanorum de sapientia, auctor Yemeni. Archetypum graecum, ex quo hoc opus tempore Mamuni conversum est, philosophum auctorem habet, qui in favorem Alexandri de aministrandis regnis subjectis et exercitu scripsit.' Steinschneider (*Alfarabi*,

p. 142, n. 1) thinks Yemeni a confusion with Al-Hamdani. Pusey in the Bodleian Catalogue, ii. 578, quotes Haji Khalfa 10202 as concluding 'Arabice vero in gratiam Almamun ab Hanifa versum esse'. Dr. Cowley of the Bodleian Library is kind enough to inform me that Pusey quotes from the Bodleian MS. CCCC.XXII which has a different reading from Fluegel's text, and a better one. Hanifa is, however, impossible as an epithet, and Dr. Cowley suggests a simple emendation which makes the note read: 'then the Caliph Al-Ma'mun had it translated into Arabic, and thought very highly of it.' This disposes of Hanifa, and probably Yemeni should disappear with him.

The list of books in the Laud MS. (which I quote as W.) differs from that of Dr. Gaster (par. 7) by treating his sixth and seventh as one, making his eighth the seventh.

I have ventured to call this version the Western form because (1) it was this text that was known to Johannes Hispalensis in Spain; (2) it was this text that was translated into Hebrew by Harizi in Spain; and (3) it was this text (or Harizi's) that was translated into Spanish as the 'Poridad de las Poridades'.

#### THE EASTERN ARABIC FORM

is that which formed the basis for the Latin translation of Philip, to which it corresponds pretty closely. The chief differences from the Western form are in the additions incorporated in the second 'discourse', though there are considerable minor accretions in all parts.

In addition to everything in the Western form, Discourse II of the Eastern form contains the treatise 'de conservatione sanitatis' (pp. 64-8), the summary of Johannes Hispalensis (pp. 68-83), the 'regimen sanitatis', a tract of pseudo-Diocles 'de divisione corporis' (pp. 83-7)—(the continuation of the 'de conservatione sanitatis' (pp. 87-9) is only found in the Latin)—chapters on food, water, wine, and oxymel (pp. 89-94), a further continuation of the 'de conservatione' (pp. 94-6), an account of the Hammam (pp. 96-7), an account of the preparation of a universal medicine (pp. 98-105), and an account of the use of astrology in phlebotomy and medicine (pp. 109-10).

It ends in most Eastern Arabic MSS. with the 'de physiognomia' (pp. 164-72), though in one of them this tract forms part of Discourse III.

Discourse III, 'de justitia', corresponds closely with the Western

version. Discourses IV and V of the Eastern version make Discourse IV of the Western scheme ; they contain long interpolations. Discourses VI and VII are cut out of Discourse V, VIII is VI, and IX is VII. Discourse IV of the Eastern scheme is further enlarged by the story of the Jew and the Mage (pp. 144-6) which is not found in the Western Arabic, and is replaced in the Hebrew version by a warning against red-headed counsellors. Discourse IX is enlarged by a section 'de electione temporum' (pp. 155-6) of an astrological character, while Discourse X, ' de scienciis incantamentorum' (pp. 157-63), is a scientific theory of talismans, to which every Arabic MS. adds a different series of illustrations. It includes the oldest known text of the 'Emerald Table' of Hermes. It is replaced in the Western form by Gate XIII which treats of alchemy, talismans, and the properties of gems.

#### THE DATE OF THE EASTERN ARABIC TEXT.

There can be little doubt that the process of accretion by which this version was formed was a gradual one. One of the additions (p. 58) may have been made at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The passage 'Sane puella in domo patrisfamilias ex nimio studio sciebat cursum anni et astrorum, . . .' may possibly be a reference to the learned lady 'nondum vicesimum agens annum' Constantina, daughter of the Archbishop of Athens, who 'pestilentias, tonitrua, eclipsim, et quod mirabilius fuit, motum praedicens, omnes suos auditores infallibiliter praemunivit' (Matt. Paris, v. 286). Matthew's authority for this is John of Basingstoke, who had been her pupil and who first appears in Grosseteste's Register as Archdeacon of Leicester in 1240 (there was an Archdeacon Robert in 1236-7); he died in 1252. If we assume, as an outside limit, that John was 60 when he became Archdeacon, he would be born about 1180, and as we know that he studied at Oxford, and 'Parisius diu studuisse et legisset', he could not have got to Athens before 1210, and most probably much later, since the Testament of the Patriarchs, which he brought from Athens on a second visit, was translated in 1240-2. This gives us then an approximate date for the completion of the longer Arabic version, as after 1220. But very possibly the Archdeacon's story is mere romance, and the reference in the Arabic text is a generality, founded on some such story as that of Hypatia.

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishops of Athens in the early thirteenth century were Michael Akominatos, 1175-1206 (Greek), who certainly never had a daughter, Berard, Nov. 27, 1206-23, and Conrad, 1223-?, of whom nothing is known.

A second line of conjecture, pointing to a somewhat similar date, is the great stress laid in it on astrology, which came into popularity in Mohammedan courts only with the Mongol dynasties. Al-Fakhri (1258), *Archives Marocaines* (1910), vol. cvi, p. 28, says: ‘Sous la dynastie des Mogols, au contraire, toutes ces sciences furent délaissées et d’autres y furent en vogue, telles que la science des finances et de la comptabilité, pour l’établissement du budget, et la supputation des recettes et des dépenses de l’Empire, la médecine pour préserver les corps et les tempéraments, l’astronomie qui apprend à choisir les conjonctures favorables.’ It is to be noticed that the earlier (Western) version contains only one reference to Astrology, that in pp. 60-2.

A third hint might have been expected from the statement as to the length of the seasons, inserted in their descriptions. These are not found in the Western version, from which the translation of Johannes Hispalensis was made. If we could trace their source, or find approximately the date at which they were correct, we should have made another step forward. Unfortunately the astronomers whom I have consulted seem to agree that at no period could these statements have been true.

#### THE HEBREW VERSION.

The Western eight-book form was translated into Hebrew, as it appears, by Judah Al-Harizi, who flourished 1190-1218, and in its Hebrew form was widely spread, especially in Spain. His text has been edited, with an introduction and an English translation, by Dr. Gaster for the Royal Asiatic Society, 1907-8.

Harizi made a number of alterations in and additions to his text, some of them merely explanatory. Among the additions are large parts of §§ 20 and 21 (Gaster’s translation), 23, all 28, 32, and part of 46, 58, and 62. The most notable addition is the section on alchemy §§ 125 and 128, on the magic ring § 126, and on poison § 127. The alchemy is plainly Hebrew and very interesting. Achab (Achavo in the Latin) is a sea-eagle.

#### THE TRANSLATION OF JOHANNES HISPALENSIS.

A large number of manuscripts exist of a translation of part of the *Secretum Secretorum* made by a well-known Jewish writer, Johannes Hispalensis or Hispaniensis, early in the twelfth century for

a Spanish queen, Theophina or Tharasia. The tract, as we know it, consists of an introduction, which incorporates the greater part of the prologue of Yuhanna ibn al-Batrik (p. 39) and the treatises 'de regimine sanitatis' and 'de calore naturale' from the Western form. A text of it was printed by Hermann Suchier in his *Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache*, Halle, 1883, pp. 472-80, from eight manuscripts in the British Museum, to illustrate a Provençal verse poem of the first half of the thirteenth century, pp. 201-13, which, except lines 313-76, is founded upon it.

Johannes Hispalensis (called Avendeath) was a Jewish translator in Toledo (1135-53) who worked for Dominic Gundisalvi, Arch-deacon there. A list of his translations is printed by Steinschneider, *Jüdische Übersetzer des Mittelalters*, p. 981.

A possible Tharasia was daughter of Alphonso VI, king of Leon and Castile. She was wife of Henry, Count of Burgundy, and mother of the first king of Portugal (1112-28). She died November 1, 1130 (*Art de vérifier*, Paris, 1818, vii. 2). No Theophina can be found, though this form of the name has the best MS. authority.

This version had a great success: many translations of it in Italian, German, and the Romance languages are described.

In the best MSS., e.g. Add. 26770 B.M., the translation is headed by the following lines and preface :

Hoc opus exiguum regi princeps medicorum  
Mittit Alexandro servatus ut ille tenore  
Propositoque modo medici non indigisset.

Hoc mitto vobis ut vos securus eodem  
Ordine vivatis ne frustra distribuatis  
Res vestras medicis quia non opus est homicidis.

Epistola Aristotilis regi magno Alejandro de observacione humani corporis directa quam Johannes Hyspaniensis inventam Teophine Hyspaniarum regine transmisit.

Domine T. Hispanorum regine Johannes Hyspaniensis salutem. Cum de utilitate corporis olim tractaremus, et a me ac si esset medicus, vestra nobilitas queret brevem libellum facerem de observacione dyete vel de corporis continencia, id est, qualiter se debeant continere qui sanitatem corporis cupiunt conservare, accidit ut dum vestre jussioni cogitarem obedire, hujus rei exemplar ab Aristotle philosopho Alejandro editum repente menti occurreret, quod exscripsi

de libro qui arabice dicitur *sirr al asrar*, id est, secretum secretorum, quod fecit, siout dixi, Aristotiles philosophus Alexandro magno de dispositione regiminum, in quo continentur multa regibus utilia. Que quidem jussu imperatoris sui a multis quesivit, de cuius invencione sic ait :

‘Egressus sum diligenter inquirere quod michi preceptum est ab imperatore, et non cessavi sollicite querere loca et tempa in quibus suspicabar philosophorum opera esse et abscondita, donec ad quoddam altare quod sibi edificaverit Hermes in que Sol venerabatur a quibusdani, ibique inveni quendam virum prudentem et religiosum. Huic adhesi, huic placere studui, et verbis dulcissimis eum linivi. quousque locum secretum mihi detegeret ; in quo inveni plura scripta philosophorum secreta. Ibique hunc librum aureis litteris scriptum inveni, et sic invento hoc quod querebam cum gaudio reversus sum.’

Quod de greco in arabicum translatum, transtuli in latinum. Possideat ergo nobilitas vestra hoc opus, deo annuente, cum corporis sanitate.

There are a large number of MSS. of this version in Paris, London, and elsewhere.

#### THE TRANSLATION OF PHILIP.

At some time in the first half of the thirteenth century a translation of the longer Arabic text was made by a certain Philip, of whom we know nothing, for an Archbishop Guido, of whom we know equally nothing.

The earliest quotations from this version are to be found in Roger Bacon’s ‘epistola de accidentibus senectutis’ written between 1243 and 1254, probably about 1247. These quotations are not from the tract of Johannes Hispalensis.

It is quoted by Guibert de Tournai in his *Eruditio Regum et Principum*, written at Paris ‘apud fratres minores’, October 1259 (pp. 57, 58, 59, 66–7, 69, 70, 76).

It is also known to Albertus Magnus, *de Animalibus*, i: 2, who quotes from the Physiognomy the story of Hippocrates, and makes several other citations. The date of this work is put at about 1260. A quotation appears in the early comment on Boethius, *de consolatione et disciplina scolarium*, and in Michael Scot, *de natura Solis et*

*Lune*, while the *Emerald Table* (pp. 115-17) is quoted by Albertus, *de mineralibus*.

In his dedication Philip states that the book was found at Antioch. Some doubt has been thrown on this remark, but without reason: Antioch was a very likely place for the free exchange of thought between Christians and Mohammedans at the time.

Though we know nothing certain of Guido or Philip we have some materials for conjecture. The translation is dedicated in the Vulgate MSS. 'Guidoni Vere de Valencia, civitatis metropolis glorioso pontifici', a form which is obviously incomplete, and accordingly soon passed into 'civitatis tripolitani glorioso pontifici'. Bacon supplies in his title the name of the archiepiscopal see as Napolis, i. e. Naples. If this is true, Guido could only have been archbishop between 1247 and 1253.

Philip, who had been in his service and was now separated from him, is called in the body of the work in several early manuscripts 'Philippus Tripolitanus', e.g. 'Incipit liber quartus. Transtulit magister Philippus Tripolitanus de forma justitia' (B.N. fonds latin 6584, 11119 &c.). We know of a Philip of Tripoli who was canon of Byblos 1243-8, chaplain of Hugo, Cardinal of St. Sabine, canon of Tyre, canon of Tripoli (provision of 1243, not filled 1248), elected to see of Tyre Oct. 26, 1250, but declined it in favour of N. cantor of Tripoli 'our chamberlain': licence 1251, Jan. 15 to keep all offices together in Tyre, Sydon, and Tripoli after election of N. to Tyre. Chaplain of Innocent IV March 8, 1251.

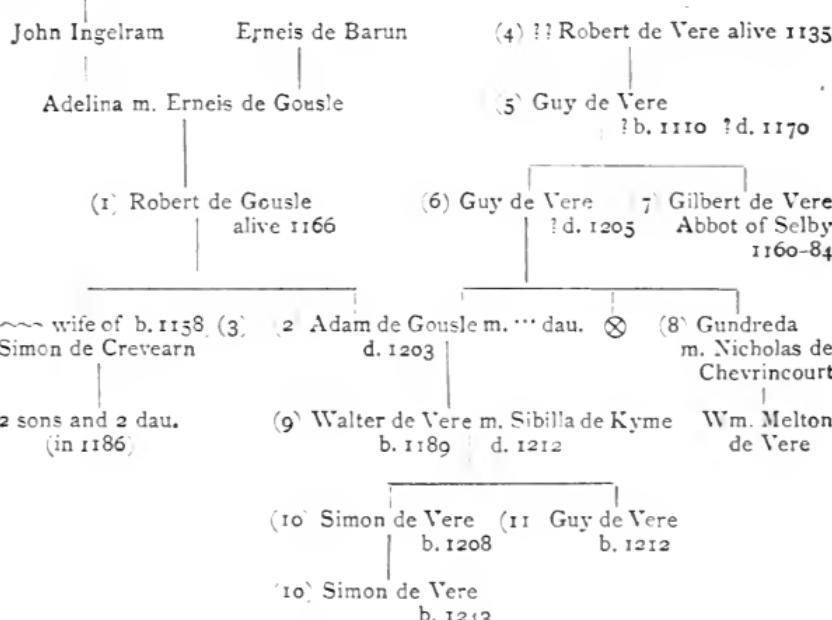
We get hints in a brief of 1243 as to the business that may have taken Philip to Antioch: the Bishop of Tripoli, who had never fathomed 'the mysteries of Donatus and Cato', having been excommunicated and interdicted by the patriarch of Antioch. We have no hint as to any connexion of a Guido de Vere with Valence or Valencia. He may possibly have belonged to the Lincolnshire Anglo-Norman family of de Vere, in which Guido was a family name. I can find no other Vere family in Western Europe in which Guido was a family name. In this one we meet a Guy de Vere in the 1131 Pipe Roll, another in 1173 supporting Henry II against his sons, in 1180 paying a fine for not destroying a castle in Lincolnshire, in 1199 a benefactor of the Hospitallers, in 1204 a benefactor of Selby Abbey, and another in 1233 as a tenant of Ranulf de Blundeville, Earl of Chester. The persistence of the name in the family for a century almost creates a probability that our Guido de Vere was

a member of it.<sup>1</sup> It may be worth noting that there is a blank in the list of the Archbishops of Tyre between 1244 and 1251.

Everything then seems to point to a period of about 1243 for the translation of Philip, with the exception of some verbal resemblances in Michael Scot's 'de secretis' to phrases in the introduction of the physiognomy of the *Secretum Secretorum*. If the attribution of this tract is genuine it must have been written before 1234, and if the similarity of phraseology is convincing the *Secretum Secretorum* must

I APPROXIMATE GENEALOGY OF THE DE VERES OF LINCOLN AND YORKS.

William Ingelram



<sup>1</sup> Monast. ii. 200. vi. 287; Lands in Gousle and Witton 1166 ('Lib. Niger'); with Adelina grant to Whitby; Grant of Church at Gousle to Bridlington Burton 230, confirmed by Walter Fitz Adam. <sup>2</sup> Adam (Hunter Pipe Roll 1 R. p. 61, Chancery Roll 3 J. 3 Yorks. Arch. Journ. 4. 242. (4) Witness 1135-54 Selby Coucher, i. 31, 2. 229; Charter of Battle Abbey 1126-33) bnt Shropshire. (5) Hunter. 31 H. 1 p. 30 : Fines, 8 H. 2, 11 H. 2, 14 H. 2; Selby Coucher. ii. 224, 229, 298. (6) Fines, 16 H. 2, 17 H. 2, 26 H. 2, 27 H. 2, 1 Rich. (p. 61, Hunter Pipe). 3 John: 'Chancery', Selby Coucher, ii. 295, 296, 297, 298. i. 18. <sup>7</sup> Selby Coucher; Monast. Aug. 8 Selby Coucher. ii. 296. (9) Hardy Fine Rolls, p. 324 (Simon de Kyme was his father-in-law): Burton, p. 230. (10) Confirmation, 1229 (Burton, 374); Confirmation, 1264 (Burton, 230), (11) Close Roll, 1233.

Guy de Vere the second was a benefactor of St. John of Jerusalem (Charter 1 John, and if Archbishop Guido belongs to this family he was probably his son).

have been in his hands. I must confess that the arguments of Prof. Foerster on this point do not carry conviction to me. On the other hand there is no reason why Scot may not have had the Arabic text, or its sources, before him.<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt but that Philip was acquainted with the work of his predecessor at least, and that he incorporated it in his text. The paragraph 'Cum hoc corpus corruptibile sit' (p. 68) is not found in the Eastern text, but is the introduction to the 12th 'gate' of the Western text, and could only have been taken by Philip from Hispalensis direct. From this point to p. 81<sup>15</sup> Philip incorporates the Hispalensis text, adding his own translation of the large additions in the Eastern text. He then found a long section in Hispalensis (81<sup>19</sup>-83<sup>15</sup>) which was not in the Eastern text at that place—and this he took over into his book without noticing that it came in later in his text (88<sup>5</sup>-89<sup>10</sup> being the same as 81<sup>19</sup>-80, and 94<sup>22</sup>-96<sup>2</sup> another form of 82<sup>1</sup>-83<sup>8</sup>). Lines 9-15 on p. 83 are probably an addition to some MS. of Hispalensis and are not in either text, though incorporated by Philip (lines 16-20 seem to be a gloss, added sometimes at the end of the 'de oculis', p. 86). We may note that one or two

<sup>1</sup> There are in the introduction of Scot these phrases only which have a verbal agreement with the *Secretum*.

p. 206. *Hujus enim scientiae inquisitio est in pulcherrima natura, cuius perfectio attribuitur physionomo de numero antiquorum Physione summo doctori in scientia naturali* (cf. 164<sup>24</sup>).

p. 207. *Constituo ergo, o Frederice Imperator, tibi ex hac scientia physionomiae regulas et constitutiones abbreviatas: quas tibi pono satis sufficienter. Jugo quarum si te bene adjeceras . . .* (cf. 166<sup>2</sup>).

In part i, chapter 1, in a long discourse on conception:

p. 212 *Et sicut de calibe et silice exit quandoque scintilla, ita de spermate exit quandoque conceptio, et matrix est embrioni sicut olla ad coquendum epulum* (cf. 166<sup>6</sup>).

Part ii, chapter 24, after quoting Hippocrates, Galen, and Rhasis:

p. 264. *Sed antequam veniamus ad totam intentionem nostri sermonis ex praerogativa dicimus quod valde cavendum est in omni tempore ab obviatione et societate hominis infortunati, opus naturae superioris, ut ab homine cui diminutum sit aliquid membrum, ut oculus, manus, etc.* (cf. 167<sup>8</sup>).

Cap. 65, in the course of a chapter of over sixty lines:

p. 299. *Cujus nasus fuerit sinus significat hominem impetuosum, vanum mendacem, luxuriosum, debilem, instabilem, cito alteri credentem et convertibilem ad utrumque. Cujus nasus fuerit in medio latus et declinet ad summum tatem sui, significat hominem facile mendacem, vanum, luxuriosum, verlosum, & crudelis fortunae* (cf. 168<sup>25</sup>, 168<sup>28</sup>).

These extracts, of which only the first three show verbal coincidences, do not seem sufficient to warrant the assumption of anything more than a knowledge by Scot of the treatise on Physiognomy in either Arabic or Latin. The history of this section of the work is still so obscure that it is quite possible that it was translated as a separate work and incorporated by Philip in the same way as the translation of Johannes Hispalensis.

Secretum manuscripts have gone so far as to introduce the Hispalensis preface into the text at p. 68.

There can hardly be any doubt that Philip was French-speaking: the use of *ache* (parsley), *betes* (p. 97), is sufficient proof, but we have several Latin words used in the sense of their French derivatives, *probus* for *preux*, *indiscretus* for *indiscret*, *extraneus* for *étrange*, *bajulus* for *bailli*, *citra mare* in opposition to *outre-mer*, and so on. We are referred to a dissertation by Taube which I have been unable to see for other proofs by C. B. Hase.

#### THE OFFICIAL REVISION OF PHILIP'S TRANSLATION.

The difference in order between the Arabic and Latin texts points to the conclusion that an extensive work of revision was carried on before the form in which we now have the Latin text was established. The most important changes, as has already been said, were the elimination of the magical element in the tenth discourse and the removal of the physiognomy from the end of the (Arabic) second discourse to take its place as the (Latin) tenth book. Even if we had only Philip's preface before us we might be led to suspect some tampering with the book, since we find in the body of the Vulgate text nothing of the 'operandi incantaciones et celimanciam et geomanciam' of which he speaks (p. 26<sup>29</sup>) in his dedication.

As a matter of fact Bacon tells us plainly that some such process of editing had taken place before he undertook to gloss the work. 'Et multa exemplaria non habent illam doctrinam, quia stulti non voluerunt scribere, set abraserunt a libris suis, sicut exemplaria quatuor que nunc inveni Oxonie non habuerunt illa, nec similiter multa alia, set Parisius habui exemplaria perfecta' (p. 39<sup>31</sup>). 'Item cum in correccione istius exemplaris habui quatuor exemplaria, scio quod ablata sunt ab eis quedam capitula per stulticiam aliquorum. Et ideo querantur in aliis exemplaribus. Solebam enim habere integrum quantum fuit translatum' (p. 172<sup>10</sup>).

It would be tempting to connect this revision with that ordered by Gregory IX in 1231 of the 'libri naturales', which were not to be used 'quousque examinati fuerint, et ab omni errorum suspicione purgati', but there is absolutely no reason for doing so.

We have no MSS. which represent this earliest form of Philip's version, and Bacon's is the fullest text we have, but there are traces of the earlier order in the indexes of many of the Vulgate MSS., in which (only in the index) the tract of Physiognomy comes before

the tract on Justice. A good example is B.N. fonds latin 6756 (in an Italian or Avignon hand of the early fourteenth century) which shows a close correspondence with the original order. Others of less importance are B.M. 12 D. iii, 12 C. vi. In many cases the list of contents shows the original order while the text itself is in the revised form.

No printed Latin texts correspond exactly with the full Vulgate text, though some of the earlier translations were made from it.

#### BACON'S EDITION.

Encouraged by the fact that changes had already been made in the text, Bacon set himself the task of further rearrangement, dividing it into four parts of approximately equal length instead of the ten of his author, and inserting several paragraphs as well as transforming the chapter headings, without giving any indication of the changes he had made. Some of these insertions may indeed have been brought up into the text by copyists inserting glosses, but others are unmistakably inserted by him. The chapter he adds most to is that on the flesh of vipers as a medicine, extracted from Avicenna. The section of the theory of magic, 'O Alexander jam scivisti' (pp. 157-63), which in the Arabic begins the tenth discourse, is placed by him at the end of his third part: in the ordinary Latin MS. text it is moved as a whole, with the sections on alchemy and the properties of stones and plants which follow it, to the end of the second book.

A rather remarkable thing is that Bacon calls the work (pp. 25, 172) *Liber Decem Scienciarum*—a name otherwise unknown in Latin, but with Arabic authority. In the *Universal History of El-Makin* (Budge, *Alexander*, ii. 382) we find :

'Now there are some who say that Aristotle the sage, the teacher of Alexander, taught the ten sciences of the earth and established them, and that he composed many treatises on the healing of the body besides other well-known books. And he compiled for Alexander a work, which we have mentioned in a previous place, and entitled it "The Book of the Knowledge of the Laws of Destiny", and in it the science of talismans and the art of astrology, and he drew therein magical figures which were to be used for frightening and terrifying men and he further gave instructions. . . .'

With the exception of the three or four late copies of this manuscript Bacon's edition had no influence on the text of the *Secretum*.

#### ACHILLINI TEXT.

In 1501 Alexander Achillini, a physician-jurist of Bologna, published a text of the *Secretum* which has been copied in all

subsequent editions. At the end of Book II he inserted a large part of section O (pp. 157–161<sup>24</sup>), followed by section Q, as in the Vulgate text, to p. 115<sup>21</sup>. Here he inserts a passage from the Western form (paragraphs 125 and 126 Gaster), and then resumes with p. 115<sup>22</sup>. Between pp. 118 and 119 of our text he again inserts paragraphs 127–135 of the Western text (ed. Gaster), transposing paragraphs 133 and 134. The Latin text of these additions is printed as Appendix I, pp. 173–5. No manuscript of this text is known.

#### THE TAEGIUS TEXT.

In 1516–17 Franciscus Taegius published in a collection of gnomic authors a new arrangement of the *Secretum*. The work is extremely rare and I have been unable to see a copy, but an account of it by Franciscus Storella in the 1555 edition of the *Secretum* may be quoted:

Illud etiam hoc in loco praemonendum esse ducimus quod Ticinii liber, qui secretum secretorum Aristotelis inscribitur, sicut excussus a praesenti tamen longe diversus, liber siquidem ille in treis partes est scissus, in quibus, tribus Alexandri postulationibus fit satis, in prima agitur de immortalitate animae, in secunda de conservatione sanitatis, in tertia vero de regimine principum, duae posteriores partes ex praesenti volumine sunt excerptae, capitum tamen ordine, ac verbis nonnullis immutatis, sententiae tamen nihil fere est in illis, quod ex praesenti non fuerit abstractum. At prima in hoc minime habetur, ne itaque cupidus lector ex secretorum volume in hac editione aliquid desideret, quod ego praestare possum, illam hic subjicere decrevi, eoque libentius, quod et brevitate et utilitate maxima est referata, est autem tractatus ille subscriptus.

O Alexander in epistola tua petebas a me tria: ego cupiens tibi morem gerere, primo dicam de animi aeternitate: postea de aliis. Socrates saepe cum discipulis de hoc loquebatur, castigabat eos magnopere quod dicebant animas mori cum corpore, quia sic boni et mali pares essent post mortem. et tolleretur omnis ratio vivendi. Ad quid sudare ob virtutes et speculativas scientias acquirendas? unde opinari animam rationalem esse mortalem est causa omnium malorum evenientium mortalibus. in Phaedone dictum est, quod Socrates conquaerebatur animam in corpore sepultam, ac ibi detineri tanquam in carcere, et adducebat vetus illud eulogium quo dicitur. In carcere quodam fuimus postquam venimus. Ideo corpus spleum appellabat, et Empedocles antrum, et animae hinc profactionem, nexum solutionem, ac splei fugam aiebat. Et Axiocho laboranti suasit Socrates ne timeret mortem propter animae immortalitatem, quae post exitum ab hoc mortali corpore praemiatur secundum merita adeo quod Axiochus ex vi verborum suorum prius formidans mortem, ac deplorans se privari his bonis, jam mortem exoptaret, ut sua anima ex hoc carcere liberaretur. Neque est verum ut in Thimeo

dictum est, animas reverti in nova corpora ad luenda supplitia. Nam quid oportet animas vinculis corporis eripi : si rursus in aliud corpus detrudendae sunt ? nam ociosa esset mors. Nam oportebat malorum hominum eatenus proferri vitam, quo ad illorum propagandi essent cruciatus. Pater Socrates prius docuit animae rationalis immortalitatem : ac post separationem a corpore ille quae virtutibus erant praeditae gaudebant jucunditate, ac harmonia coelesti, eo erant gratae primo rerum opifici. At ille quae obscuris actibus et beluinis voluptatibus erant deditae : deprimuntur in orbem tristem ac tartarum, ubi tenebris, tristitia : ac perpetuo igne cruciantur.

Dixit quandoque Plato animas rationales e corporibus exolutas accedere ad compares stellas, ibique beari ac tristari secundum merita ac demerita. Diximus nos in his quae de anima : intellectum hominis esse immixtum animae impassibilem, et incorruptibilem, et in libro De Natura Deorum docuimus eum remanere post separationem a corpore, cum illis affectionibus quas in corpore acquisiverat idcirco malorum animae cum restent cum passionibus gulae, luxuriae, ambitionis, et avaritiae, appetunt iterum exercere illos actus : et cum desint eis corpora ac organa proportionata ad illa, detinentur hac exercendi libidine perpetuo, et ita habent hanc perpetuam miseriam. Bonorum vero animae quae virtutem et scientias speculativas habuere, et virtute heroyca elatae post mortem remanent capaces beatitudinis, et sic beantur per hoc, quod deus et intelligentiae haerent uti formae illis, et sunt Deo amantissimae. Locus beatitudinis est stella compar, domina signi horoscopantis, per quod anima descendit. Siquidem cum per illam descendat par est ut ad illam redeat ut beatificetur. Quare Alexander te toto animo ad virtutem et scientias capescendas accingas, rejiciens vitia, ne post mortem anima tua tristetur aeterno tempore.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF MSS.

All MS. versions of the *Secretum Secretorum* known to me derive from one source—the edition of Philip's translation put forth by authority shortly before 1259—either by successive mutilations or by easily recognizable additions.

Mr. J. P. Gilson in cataloguing the British Museum manuscripts of the *Secretum* arrived at a number of criteria by which they may be divided into classes. They are as follows:

- (a) Pliny note (p. 111).
- (b) De Viperis (p. 105).
- (c) O Alexander, jam scivisti (p. 157).
- (c<sup>1</sup>) De apprehensione intellectus (p. 158).
- (c<sup>2</sup>) De imaginibus (p. 162).
- (d) The medicines after the third (p. 101).
- (e) De Oculis (p. 84).

To which I would add

(f) Indus (p. 87).

(g) Physiognomy before Justice in list of books.

(a) The Pliny note is an early annotation often incorporated into the text. (b) The chapter on Vipers belongs to a special tradition of Paris and English MSS. (c) These are parts of the 'dictio decima' on Magic, and MSS. showing (c<sup>2</sup>) are especially valuable as showing the primitive text. (d) Many of the medicines were omitted in the fourteenth century as unintelligible. (e) The 'de oculis' is a very early corruption, and a MS. showing in its place 'de ventre' is valuable as derived from the primitive text. (f) Most MSS. omit the Indian physician's advice. (g) shows a connexion with the uncorrected form of Philip's text.

None of these criteria, it will be seen, refer to a divergence of actual text; they may be all either additions to or subtractions from one original, with the exception of the 'de oculis' which is a substitution.

We may offer the following provisional classification :

(A) Two texts preserve the original place of the Physiognomy, i. e. before Justice : B.N. 6756 (a fourteenth-century Avignon hand) and B.M. 5 F. xiv (a sixteenth-century composite MS. otherwise important).

(B) The following MSS. retain, in their list of chapter headings only, the original position of Physiognomy : B.N. 6584, 11118, 15081 (all thirteenth century), and 3358 (fourteenth century).

(C) The following two classes of MSS. have the whole section on Magic printed in this edition : B.N. 6755 (thirteenth century), 6755 A (fourteenth century), 11120 (fifteenth century).

(D) These MSS. place pp. 157–63 after p. 123<sup>6</sup> before Justice : evidently a mistaken attempt to reunite the 'dictio decima'. B.M. Sl. 1934 (thirteenth century), 12 C. vi (fourteenth century), 12 D. iii, Sl. 2413 (fifteenth century).

(E) The large class of MSS. which omit the fourth to ninth medicine, the greater part of the theory of magic, and the 'de viperis'. Examples are B.N. 6584 (thirteenth century), 6978, 11119 (fourteenth century), B.M. Eg. 2676 (thirteenth century). Sl. 3469, 9 B. ii, Sl. 3554 (fourteenth century).

(F) In the course of the fifteenth century a very much abbreviated text came into circulation containing a certain amount of the medical and didactic portions of the work. The abbreviation is so badly done as to leave the text at times unintelligible. The MSS. are

mostly Flemish. Examples are B.N. 3029, 6587, 7031, and n.a.l. 711.

A number of MSS. are composite, containing either the omitted chapters added at the end from another source, or sections not belonging to the work at all (as in 12 E. xv, which includes the present Aristotelian Physiognomy and a great many notes from Bacon), or parts of the Hispalensis tract (as in Sl. 3554 or B.N. 16022).

It is somewhat remarkable that no early MS. except Bacon's gives the ' Medicus Indicus' (p. 87).

TABLE SHOWING COMPOSITION OF THE PRINCIPAL BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE MSS. THEY CONTAIN

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>
13th cent.							
6584	x	...	...	...	x	...	x
6755	x	x	x	x	...	...	...
11118	...	...	...	...	...	...	x
15081	x	...	...	x	x	...	x
15082	x	x	...	x	x	...	...
14th cent.							
3358	...	...	...	...	...	...	x
6755 A	x	x	x	x	...	...	...
6756	...	...	<i>c</i> <sup>1</sup>	x	...	...	*
6978	x	...	...	...	...	...	...
11119	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15007	...	...	...	x	x	...	...
16022	...	x	...	x	x	...	...
15th cent.							
6481	...	x	...	x	...	...	...
11120	...	...	x	x	...	...	...

\* Also text.

## THE PRINCIPAL MSS. IN BRITISH MUSEUM CONTAIN

		<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	
15th cent.									
12 D. iii.	Magic before Justice	×	×	×	×	×	...	...	English
Sl. 2413	Magic before Justice	×	×	×	×	×	...	...	Imperfect
Sl. 1128		×	...	...	...	×	...	...	
H. 1008		×	...	×	×	×	...	...	English
H. 2584		...	×	...	✓	...	...	...	Italian
Burn. 68		...	...	×	✓	×	...	...	
12 C. xx		...	...	...	✓	×	...	...	
H. 399		...	...	...	...	✓	...	...	English
32097		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Italian
16th cent.									
5 F. xiv.	Compound	×	...	...	×	✓ <sup>1</sup>	...	...	Physiog. misplaced before herbs
12 D. xv									Imperfect

The following are a few of the MSS. of the Hispalensis selection : British Museum, Harl. 2558, 3719, Ar. 123, 185, 459, Burney 350, 360, Sloane 282, 405, 420, 426, 430, Add. 26770; Bibl. Nat. 6679, 8749, 14809.

A text, much shortened and altered by F. Adam de Mondaldo (fl. 1480), is now in the Perrin Collection, formerly Yates Thompson 47.

#### SECRETA SECRETORUM METRICE COMPOSITA.

There is in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal at Paris (MS. 875) a metrical version in Latin made by a certain Nicolas for his friend John.

#### BACON'S INTRODUCTORY TREATISE.

The summary printed pp. 278-83 will indicate to the general reader that this work is not an introduction in the modern sense. It is, in fact, a defence of legitimate divination, and a preliminary text-book of the elements of astrology, using the word in the modern sense. Bacon himself uses the word Astrology in the most general sense, as the whole body of knowledge concerning the stars, subdividing it into judiciary and operative Astronomy.

The distinction between true and false mathematicians that he lays down is one to which he recurs several times. It is perhaps worthy of note that the second line of his quotation from Eberhardus, which is not in the printed text,

Philosophi matesim, magici dixerat mathesim,  
is quoted by him in his Greek Grammar (p. 118) as

Philosophi matesim, dicunt vatesque mathesim,  
while in the editions of Eberhardus there are still two more variants,

'retinent' and 'breviant' for 'dicunt'. The line in the printed text is

Datque mathematicos comburi theologia.

He then passes to the discussion of free will, showing its compatibility with astrological predictions: these latter only showing the surroundings in which persons will be living at a fixed time and place, and the likelihood of their actions taking a definite direction in consequence. On p. 6 he gives the titles of five illicit books as examples, and tells us that he has known very great men, not only clerks but learned princes, engaged in their study. He goes on to describe several forms of popular magic. Among these is the art of seeing such things as stolen goods by looking on polished surfaces such as the finger-nails of bewitched virgin youths, basins, sword-blades, and the blade-bones of rams. The art of geomancy and of making figures in sand is next referred to, and Bacon describes how in lands oversea geomancers sit in the market-places and answer the questions of all comers. Lawful divination is his next subject, which includes vaticination from natural objects, such as the Comet of 1264 (which preceded the death of Simon de Montfort), with its results. He describes the phenomena which accompany a total eclipse, which he had evidently seen.

In his astrological section we have an account of the movements of the spheres, the apparent motion of the sun, the properties of the planets (with allusions to rhubarb and scammony), the aspects of the planets (conjunction, trine, quartile, sextile, and opposition), the signs of the zodiac and their qualities, and the houses of the planets. The 'dignities' of the planets are given as *domus*, *exaltacio*, *triplicitas*, *facies*, and *terminus*. The order here varies from that in the *Opus Majus*, i. 258, where a *terminus* has twice the dignity of a *facies* (see also i. 378, 389), this definition being borrowed from Grosseteste's *de impressionibus* (*Philos. Works*, ed. Bauer, p. 42). The signs and planets are also either masculine or feminine. Lastly the scheme for the solution of any question is described.

Bacon closes the tract by a short eulogy of the universal medicine to be found in the body of the *Secretum*, p. 99.

#### BACON'S NOTES ON THE TEXT.

Bacon's notes on the text are of three kinds: (1) textual emendations or variant readings, (2) explanation of the meaning of words, (3) digressions.

His variants are often improvements on the reading he has adopted in the text, and I would have been tempted to substitute them if I had not been prevented by my plan, which is to give a faithful account of the manuscript before me. In the present instance there is less need for it, as any reader can satisfy himself at once which reading is preferable by a reference to the translation of the Arabic text.

His explanations show that he was at the time of writing ignorant of Arabic, two French words being represented as Arabic. They seem in most cases to be pretty obvious, and show that he did not expect much intelligence in the reader.

His digressions are more interesting. They reveal his pre-occupation with magic, with medicine, and with alchemy, and give us little sidelights on the history of his time, like that on poison (p. 88) or on the cure of a prince (p. 105). From a note (on p. 165) we learn that the Aristotelian physiognomy had recently been translated.

#### PRINTED LATIN TEXTS.

The first printed texts of the *Secretum Secretorum* are of the abbreviated type, F. Of this type there are two independent kinds, distinguished readily by the words in the preface 'lingua Arabica' (a) and 'lingua Hebrayca' (b).

##### SHORT TEXT (a) sine nota. 29 caps.

- (1) B.M. I.A. 3209. Cologne. A. Ther Hoernen. n.d. (c. 1477).  
 72 ff. a-i<sup>8</sup>. 27 ll.; no sig.  
 (H. 1782; Pell. 1246; Maz.)

##### SHORT TEXT (b) sine nota. 30 caps.

- (2) B.M. I.A. 49240. Louvain. Joh. de Westphalia. n.d. 68 ff.  
 a-h<sup>8</sup>, i<sup>4</sup>. 30 ll.  
 (H. 1781; Campb. 175; Maz. 964; Pell. 1245.)
- (3) B.M. I.A. 49867 and B.N. R. 679. Antwerp. Matt. v. d. Goes. n.d. (1486?). 22 ff. a-c<sup>6</sup>, d<sup>4</sup>. 30 ll.; sig.  
 (Campb. 176; Bodl.)
- (4) B.N. R. 1234. Antwerp. Matt. v. d. Goes. n.d. (1488?).  
 22 ff. a-c<sup>6</sup>, d<sup>4</sup>. 30 ll.; sig.; init. grav.  
 (Campb. 177; Pell. 1244.)

VULGATE. (Different texts of the same type.)

- (5) B.N. R. 790. Paris (Caesar and Stoll?). n.d. (1480?). 66 ff.  
a-f<sup>8</sup>, g, h<sup>10</sup>. 30 ll.  
(Pell. 1243.)
- (6) B.M. I.A. 10756. Reutlingen. Greyff. n.d. (1483). 44 ff.  
a-e<sup>8</sup>, f<sup>4</sup>. (Contains sections a, c-e, g-r, t, P, Q, A, B, D-  
M, u, v; 73 caps.).  
(H. 1779.)

ACHILLINI TEXT.

- (7) B.N. R. 54 (2). Bologna. Impensis B. Hector. 1501. fo. d.c.  
(8) Bodl. Bologna. Impensis B. Hector. 1516. fo. d.c.  
(9) B.M. 520, a. 12, and Bodl. Paris. G. du Pré. 1520. 16<sup>o</sup>.  
(10) B.N. R. 1912. Lyon. Blanchard. 1528-9. 16<sup>o</sup>.  
(11) B.M. Naples. Cancer. 1555. 16<sup>o</sup>.

TAEGIUS TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- (12) Bib. Naz. Naples. Pavia. Pulchridrapensis. 1516-17. fo.

NOT DESCRIBED.<sup>2</sup>

- (13) Burgos. Andreas de Burgos. 1505. 4<sup>o</sup>.

GHOSTS.

Venice. 1501.

Venice. 1555.

FRENCH MS. VERSIONS.

- (1) *inc.* A son seigneur hautisme en culture de crestienne religion  
tres vertueus Guy veirement de Valence . . . *expl.* Accom-  
plis est cest traitez des signes et murs naturels doms al  
grandesime roys Alexandre ki sire estoit de tout le monde  
e monarque dit et nome "al septantrion ke nous apelons  
north. Ci fenist li liures Aristote qest entitle Secre des Secres  
del governails des princes ou del governement des seignurs.

B.N. ff. 571. 13th cent. Anglo-French.

- (2) *inc.* Jehans, siez Patricie (Patrice) sage de tous languages . . .  
B.N. ff. 562 and 1086, Cambrai 959, Arsenal 2691, B.M. 18179,  
end of 14th cent.

(Shortened form. The B.N. text omits much and changes the  
order.)

<sup>1</sup> Panzer, vii. 498. 24. Information from Dr. Salveraglio of Pavia University Library.

<sup>2</sup> P. Vindel, Sale Catalogue, Madrid, 1913, '151. Aristoteles, Utilissimus (*sic*)  
liber de secretis secretorum.'

- (3) *inc.* (after table). Dieu tout puissant . . . *expl.* le livre du gouvernement des Roys et des Princes.  
 B.N. ff. 1087, 1166, 1958, B.M. Harl. 219, Camb. Un. FF. 1. 33.  
 (This text was printed in 1497 by Verard; it was translated into English, B.M. 18 A. vii.)
- (4) *inc.* A son seigneur tres excellent en la religion crestienne estable et tres ferme, Guy de Valence de la cite de Tripoli . . . cest chose digne juste et resonnable.  
 Bodl. Rawl. C. 538, end of 14th cent.
- (5) *inc.* Aristote dou gouvernemant des roys. A Guys de Valence gloriou esveques de la citeit de Tripolle: par Philipps, li plus petits de ces clercs . . .  
 Montpellier 164.

#### MODIFIED FORMS.

- (6) A compilation of the *Secretum*, the Dieta of Isaac, and common places of theology and history, by Iofroi de Watreford and Servais Copale.<sup>1</sup>  
 B.N. ff. 1822, *circ.* 1290.  
 (Translated into English by James Young, 1422.)
- (7) *inc.* Ici comencent les epististels secrètes del livre Aristotle . . . Beauz fiz, glorious dreturel emperers, Dieux te conferme et refreyne tes appetits . . .  
 B.M. 20 B. v, f. 136, end of 14th cent.  
 (A very shortened and much altered form. From f. 141 it leaves the *Secretum* altogether.)

#### VERSE.

- (8) Pierre de Peckham (de Abernun). Secre de Secrez.  
 B.N. 25407, ff. 173-196.  
 (Here printed pp. 287-313.)
- (9) The Provençal version of J. H., see p. xvii.

#### FRENCH PRINTED VERSIONS.

- (1) Pell. 1247. B.N. R. 794. Paris. 1496. 6 ff.  
 (2) Pell. 1248. B.N. S. 712. Antwerp. Godfridus Back. (1500.) 6 ff.  
 (Copp. 641, Camb. 177<sup>a</sup>.)
- (3) Pell. 1249. B.N. H. 506 (3). Brehaut Loudeac. Fouquet and Cres. (1484.) 6 ff.

<sup>1</sup> See Hamilton, *Romanic Review* (1910), i. 259.

- (4) Pell. 1250. B.N. Ve. 3015. Paris. de Marulf? n.d. 8 ff.
- (5) Pell. 1251. B.N. R. 1865. (Rouen.) n.d. 4 ff.
- (6) Pell. 1252. Besançon. 112. (Paris.) (Ant. Caillaut.) (1484.) 4 ff.
- (7) B.N. Res. R. 2669. Paris. A. Loctrian et D. Janot. n.d. (c. 1530) 7 ff.
- (8) B.N. Res. p. R. 255. Paris. A. Lotrian & D. Janot. n.d. 30 ff.
- (9) Vorst. 2179. ez. (Type of 1488 Ethica.) n.d. 16 ff.  
(Le gouvernement des princes traduit du grec en françois par le docteur Philippe.)
- (10) Pell. 1253. B.M. C. 22. c. 3 vell. B.N. E\*. 46. Paris. Verard. 1497. 76 ff. d.c.  
(Hain, 1784. To f. 22<sup>a</sup>, a shortened form of No. 3 MS. version.)
- (11) Holtrop ii. 911. 43 ff.
- (12) B.N. Res. R. 1721. Paris. Tignonville. 1531.  
(Included in *Les Dicts moraux des Philosophes*.)
- (13) B.M. 721, i. 3. Paris. G. Eustace. 1517.  
(Included in *Le mirouer exemplaire*. Secretum begins f. 118, a shortened form of No. 3 MS. version.)
- (14) B.M. C. 31, b. 38. Paris. V. de Jehan S. Denys. 1540. 8 ff.  
(Contains four seasons, four humours, physiognomy (not Secretum), and microcosm. 'Sensuyt le secret des secrets de Aristote Pour congnoistre les conditions des hommes et des femmes . . .')

## ENGLISH MS. VERSIONS.

- (1) B.M. 18 A. vii.  
(Printed E.E.T.S. 1898; tr. from the French version 3.)
- (2) Univ. Coll. Ox. 85. 2.
- (3) Lamb. 501. Bodl. Laud. 685.  
(Printed as above; tr. from the Latin vulgate.)
- (4) Bodl. Ash. 396.
- (5) Bodl. Rawl. B. 490. Lamb. Carew 596.  
(Printed from both texts as above; tr. from the French no. 6 of Jofroi de Watreford by Young in 1422.)
- (6) B.M. 5467.  
(By John Shirley, unfinished, from the French.)
- (7) By Gilbert Haye: from the French. (Printed S.T.S. 1914.)

## VERSE.

- (1) Secrees of old Philosoffres.  
 (Printed E.E.T.S. 1894.)  
 (2) B.M. 17 D. iii. Poesye of Princely Practice. 1548.  
 (Extracts printed by Herrtage in Starkey's *England in Henry VIII's time*, pt. 1.)

## PRINTED VERSIONS.

1528. The Secret of Secretes of Arystotle with the Governale of  
 Prynces and every maner of Estate. Newly translated and  
 emprynted by Robert Copland. 4°.  
 (Sayle 339.)
1572. Unknown edition, mentioned in 1702 ed.
1702. Aristotle's Secret of Secrets contracted : being the sum of his  
 advice to Alexander the Great about the Preservation of  
 Health and Government. London, for H. Walwyn.  
 (Contains—much abbreviated—sections b, d, f, g, A, D, i, k, l,  
 m, n, o, q.)

## WELSH VERSIONS.

Two abbreviated versions of the *Physiognomy* are contained in the  
 B.M. MSS. 14912 and 15034.  
 A Welsh version, of the Hispalensis tract apparently, is found in  
 Jes. Col. Ox. MS. 22 (3).

## EARLY DUTCH VERSIONS.

There are two editions of a translation by Jacob Van Maerlant,  
 made between 1266 and 1291 (according to Jonckbloet).

The first, entitled 'De Heimelijkhed der Heimelijkheden', was  
 published in 1838 by Clarisse in the *Nieuwe Werken van de  
 Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, iv. deel,  
 Dordrecht.

The second is entitled 'Heymelichede der Heymelicheit', and  
 was published by Kausler in the *Denkmäler altniederländischer  
 Sprache*, Bd. II, p. 483, Tübingen 1844.

The translation follows an abbreviated text of Phillip's version up  
 to about p. 149 of our text.

GERMAN MS. VERSIONS.<sup>1</sup>

(Most of these are from the tract of Johannes Hispalensis.)

- (1) *inc.* Alexander so du des morigens. Haupt, p. 506.

<sup>1</sup> From Haupt, *Arzneibuch des Meisters Bartholomaeus*, Wien. Sitob. 71, 506.

- (2) MS. 3217 Vienna.  
*inc.* Alexander so dv von dem slaff. Haupt, p. 511.
- (3) MS. 4762 Vienna.  
*inc.* wan du auf stest dez margens. Haupt, p. 512.
- (4) MS. 1244 (4) Leipzig Univ. (14th cent.)  
*inc.* Alexxander des morgens also dv uf stes. Haupt, p. 513.
- (5) Leipzig 934 (4) Verse.
- (6) MS. 4120 Vienna. Middle German. Verse. Haupt, p. 514.
- (7) MS. 349 Munich.
- (8) MS. Heidelberg cod. Pal. germ. 539. Physiognomy. Verse.
- (9) MS. 288 Munich (A.D. 1282); for frater Rudolf von Kaishem.  
 Prose. Haupt, 1.
- (10) MS. 2984 Vienna. Middle German. Verse.

## PRINTED TEXT.

Das alleredlest und bewertest Regiment der Gesundheit . . . . .,  
 translated by Dr. Johann Loschner, zu Spalt. Heinrich Stagner.  
 Augspurg, Dec. 28, 1530.

Seventy-one caps. (Sections b, d, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, (oculis) n, o,  
 q, r, (nine medicines) t, Q, C, H, I, K, F, G, L, V.)

Toischer<sup>1</sup> cites another copy of this. 'Gedruckt zu Augspurg  
 durch Heynrich Stagner am 1 tag Martii des M.D. xxxi Jars.' Haupt  
 (p. 515) quotes a 1532 edition.

## ITALIAN MS. VERSIONS.

- (1) B.M. 11899. 15th cent. *inc.* Al suo singniore excelentissimo  
 nella religione cristiana perfettissimo messere guido di  
 valenza glorioso vesscovo . . . . *expl.* Conpiuto istratto  
 de sengni e de costumi naturali delgli uomeni al grande Re  
 Alesandro, el quale singnioreggio tutto lo mondo, Amen.  
 (Eighty-five caps. b-d, f-p, r, t, s, O, R, A-L, v, w.) B.M.  
 39844 (1425) another copy.
- (2) B.N. 77402. 14th cent. Marsand, ii. 12.
- (3) B.N. 7740. 15th cent. Marsand, i. 89.
- (4) Laurent. 14th cent. Bandini, v. 303.<sup>2</sup>
- (5) Laurent. 15th cent. Bandini, v. 234.

## NEAPOLITAN VERSIONS.

- (6) B.N. 7728. Marsand, i. 75.

<sup>1</sup> See for these Toischer, *Die altdeutschen Bearbeitungen der . . . Secreta Secretorum*, Prag, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> But see Ciccioni, *Propugnatore*, N.S. ii. 90 sqq., for others.

(7) B.N. 7729. Marsand, i. 75.

(By Giovanni Cola from the Catalan.)

(8) Naples B.N. xiii G. 37, printed by Mussafia, is founded on  
Johannes Hispalensis.<sup>1</sup>

#### PRINTED VERSIONS.

Il segreto de segreti, le Moralita, & la Phisionomia d'Aristotile . . . fatti nuovamente volgari per Giovanni Manente. Vinegia per Zuan Tacuino da Trino. 1538.

(Contains the *Secreta Secretorum* in seven books, with interpolations and omissions, eleven books of ethics, and the physiognomy of the *Secretum*. The text of Books I-IV corresponds with pp. 40-105<sup>2</sup>, omitting 'de viperis' and the Pliny note, and interpolating the properties of seven herbs. Book V begins at p. 123<sup>2</sup>, and Book VI finishes p. 157<sup>2</sup>. Book VII is not from the *Secretum*.)

Another edition. 1669. 12°.

An Italian version of the Hispalensis tract is included in 'L'Ethica d'Aristotle ridotta in compendio da Ser Brunetto Latini et altre tradutzioni et scritti di quei tempi'. Lyons, Tornes, 1568 (several times reprinted).

inc. (p. 64) 'O Alexander concosia cosa che luomo sia corpo corruptibile conviene . . . expl. (p. 69<sup>2</sup>) 'usare la femina oltre misura, paura, tristitia, auere spesso, et tutte altre molte cose che anno a indebolire il corpo dell'uomo.'

This version is printed by Puccinotti, *Storia della Medicina*, II. 1, Doc., p. 2.

The Hispalensis tract was adopted by Taddeus de Florentia and published under his name as *Monita extracta de libris medicinalibus*. It is printed with Benedict of Nursia's *Opus de conservanda sanitate*, Bologna, 1477, and in Puccinotti (l. c., Doc., p. v) from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library. Another Italian version from a Laurentian MS. is printed by him (Doc., p. xliv).

William of Saliceto incorporates the 'seasons' from this tract in his 'Summa'.

#### SPANISH VERSIONS.<sup>2</sup>

Secreto Secretorum que compuso Aristoteles por mandado de Alexandro magno traducido al castellano.

(14th cent. See Amador de los Rios, v. 251, note 1.)

<sup>1</sup> Wien, Sitzb. 106, 563.

<sup>2</sup> From Knust, *Jahrbuch f. R. Litt.* x. 153, 275, 304.

Libro de Aristotiles, del regimiento de los principes o de los señores de los secretos o cartas de Aristotiles a Alexandre.

(15th cent.)

Secretos de Aristoteles y documentos de principes, traducidos de Latin en nuestro vulgar Castellano por el Maestro Joan Baptista de Herrera. . . . Año de 1621.

#### CATALAN VERSION.

Lo libre apellat de regiment de senyors en altra guisa apellat secret dels secrets ordenat per Aristotil al gran rey Alexandre.

(See Codex Canon 147, Bodleian, ff. 82<sup>b</sup>-108.)

#### LIMOUSIN VERSION.

(See *Jahrbuch*, x. 155.)

#### FROM THE HEBREW VERSION OF THE WESTERN FORM.

(*Jahrbuch*, x. 303, xii. 372.)

Poridad de las Poridades . . . . (in eight books).

This list of Manuscript and Printed Versions has no pretensions to being complete.

#### ARRANGEMENT OF THE TEXT.

Bacon's division into books is entirely his own, and will not assist students in references to other editions or to the manuscripts of the *Secretum*. The original division of the Latin text into books is also of very little use, as they are of such unequal length: and its allocation into chapters varies from manuscript to manuscript. The text here printed has however the advantage that its order is not interfered with, and that the division into chapters follows that of the majority of manuscripts. I have therefore placed in the margin a section letter, which has no manuscript authority, but is intended solely to facilitate reference: it will in future be used in this introduction.

#### PRELIMINARY MATTER.

##### Sections a-d.

This consists of the dedication by Philip of Tripoli to his patron, and the list of chapters (a), two chapters containing the preface to the Arabic text of the work (b, c), and the introduction of the pseud-Aristotle (d).

The dedication in this text and that of B.N. 6584 (Sicilian) is 'Guidoni Vere de Valencia civitatis metropolis glorioso pontifici'. There is no such bishop of Valence, or of Vienne its metropolitan city. Other texts give forms which are plainly corruptions, as, for

example, 'Guidoni viro', 'Guidoni de Valencia civitatis Tripolis', 'Guidoni civitatis Tripolis', 'Guidoni de Valencia vere civitatis Tripolis', &c. Bacon adds the information that his see was Naples. If the Archbishop really was a member of the Vere family, our search is restricted to England and Northern France, and as Guy de Vere is known to have been a benefactor to the order of St. John of Jerusalem a sort of shadowy connexion may be said to exist. The constant manuscript tradition which connects Philip with Tripoli, and the reference to Antioch, may be explained by the identification already suggested (p. xix). It seems a pity that nothing is known of a prelate who, allowing for the enthusiasm of a dedicatory, must still have been a man of unusual parts.

The chapter headings on pp. 28–35 are much enlarged by Bacon from those usually found, and the division of subjects in the first paragraph on p. 28 is entirely his own.

The prologue of the Arabic translator gathers up a number of traditions of Aristotle, current in his day, which, as will be seen from the notes, had become attached to other names. It would almost seem as if the whole passage from 36<sup>13</sup> to 38<sup>26</sup> was an interpolation, as it interrupts the thread of the translator's story how he set about finding the *Secretum* (p. 36<sup>8</sup>) and how he found the 'desideratum opus' (p. 39<sup>16</sup>). In that case the interpolation must be of ancient date, as it is found, substantially unaltered, in the Western form. A certain number of Aristotle's letters—genuine or supposititious—are preserved in Greek, but these (p. 38) are not among them. A reference to the Arabic will show how much Philip misunderstood his text.

The story of the translator's visit to the temple of the Sun built by Aesculapius (or Hermes) is a commonplace of Eastern prefaces, and has been the principal reason for assuming, not only that the work itself is supposititious, but that it had no connexion with Yuhanna ibn al-Batrik.

The original *Secretum*—the Syriac text, if there ever was one—must have begun at p. 40. The notion of a secret doctrine and an enigmatical mode of teaching is quite Greek. See, for example, the letter of Plato to Dionysius in Macrobius, 'Per enigmata de talibus esse dicendum,' or as quoted in Fernelius, l. 1, c. 10 *de abditis rerum*, 'Dicendum est igitur sed per aenigmata, &c.'

Section e, which follows in the Arabic, but not in the Latin translation, gives the list of discourses and their contents. It will

be seen that both in the Eastern and the Western forms the list is identically the same, varying only in the distribution into seven, eight, or ten discourses. It is evident that its place in the interior of the work preserved it from interpolation to be an important evidence of the original form of the *Secretum*.

### DISCOURSE I.

#### Section f.

This section is undoubtedly of Greek origin—either Byzantine or Alexandrian, though we can trace no exact equivalent for it. The classification of the four kinds of kings is traditionally attributed to Pythagoras, and the whole first chapter of the section is but an amplification of the virtues of a king as described by Cicero—*pro rege Dei*. 9. 26 ‘Fortem, justum, severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficum, et liberalem esse, hae sunt regiae laudes.’

Perhaps the most interesting feature of this section is the introduction of a quotation from an otherwise unknown Hermetic book. Several others are scattered through the *Secretum*, and they will be brought together in a separate note. Personally I consider them to be of Alexandrian origin.

The story of the revolt of the people of Hanayaj (which I cannot identify) has been much enlarged by the introduction of the Divine interposition (p. 44<sup>22–28</sup>), which was not in the original.

A comparison of the Arabic and Latin texts from this point on will reveal a tendency on the part of Philip to round off his sentences and amplify them without much regard to his text.

### DISCOURSE II.

#### Sections g–t; v.

This discourse, which runs from p. 47 to p. 110, and from p. 164 to p. 172 in the Latin text, includes in its original form only fifteen of them, i. e. to p. 62. The remainder of it consists of interpolations which in the Western text have in some cases been added at the end of the original work, in others from no part of it. It is this distinction which has led me to the conclusion that the Western text is not an abbreviation, as Professor Foerster thought it, but one which is itself an enlargement of the original text. The study of the ‘gate’ of Physiognomy, to which Professor Foerster restricted himself, would indeed by itself justify his conclusion, but the differences between the two forms of the Physiognomy are quite as compatible

with the theory of its independent origin and subsequent adoption. Pages 114-23, which are included in Book II of the Latin version, rightly belong to the end of Discourse X—the ‘dictio decima’.

Sections g and h I take to be mainly Greek in character, perhaps modified by the compiler, as shown by the introduction of the example of the kings of India, which is a commonplace of Eastern authors. A number of Hermetic quotations—all hitherto unknown—are included (pp. 52<sup>26</sup>, 55<sup>31</sup>, 57<sup>9</sup>). The last of these has been adopted by Mohammedan theology, which tells of the katibun Kirāmun—the illustrious writers. They are mentioned in the Quran, *Surat*, 82. 50 a, ‘Yet truly these are guardians over you, illustrious recorders, cognizant of your actions.’ The spirit on the left is the recording angel of evil according to the *Mishkāt*, iv. 8. 1.

The story of the poison maiden has been treated at length by Hertz in the *Abhandlungen d. k. bayr. Akad. Wiss. Cl. I. xx. Bd. 1.* 91, who has treated the subject exhaustively, and considers it of Persian origin. The story is referred to by Razis, *Contineens*, xx. 2 (f. 413<sup>e</sup>, ed. 1506), by Avicenna, Canon iv, Fen. 6, t. 1, c. 2, and by the commentator of Isaac. It is one of the tales of the *Gesta Romanorum*. The story of the Greek maiden (p. 58) has already been referred to. P. 51<sup>8</sup> is a Gnostic idea, see Hippolytus (tr. Macmahon), p. 145.

Section h, the only part of the original treatise devoted to astrology, is Greek in character, and quite contrasted to the passages due to later insertions. Philip was evidently a firm believer in the science, for he has dealt with an argument against it founded on the divine foreknowledge, and asserts ‘cuncta sunt scibilia in via racionis’. The reference to Plato requires an elucidation I am unable to give. It is evidently some cryptic saying of the Eastern schools.

Section i, *de conservanda sanitate*, is not included at the end of the Western form and is thus shown to be a late addition. It is evidently written by an Eastern physician who (see p. 66<sup>16</sup>) is familiar with Bedawin and ascetics. He holds by the doctrine of humours, but does not even name them.

Section k. *de regimine sanitatis*. This, with the following section l, *de calore naturali*, form the 12th ‘gate’ of our Western form, as translated into Hebrew, and the beginning of Discourse VII, *on medicine* of the Arabic text. This is the tract that with part of the introduction of *Yuhanna ibn al-Batrik* was translated by Johannes Hispalensis. The two sections are, however, separated in the Eastern Arabic text by sections *de divisione corporis*, and foods, water, and

wine, appearing as sections I and p. It would be of course just possible that Philip had before him a composite manuscript, but unless this manuscript also contained the translation of Johannes we can hardly account for the fact that Philip's translation is verbally the same excepting the interpolations necessary to make it represent the Eastern text.

The first paragraph (p. 68<sup>17-27</sup>) is taken over from Hispalensis with the addition of some half-dozen words. In the second he adds about fourscore, some explanatory, as in p. 69<sup>3</sup>, where the morning wash is restricted to hands and face, mouth, teeth, and head; sometimes destroying the sense, as when he adds 'in hyeme autem calida', the omission of which restores sense to the paragraph. It will be seen that paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 on p. 73, all of p. 74 after line 4, and the first two paragraphs on p. 75 are not in the Western version.

We are undoubtedly in the presence of a tract of Greek origin, and it is a curious coincidence, since one of the later sections (m) is derived from a treatise of the pseud-Diocles, that its subject-matter is identical with that of the treatise of Diocles on diet, preserved by Oribasius, and that it is not impossible that its main features are derived from it. As Fredrich says in his *Hippokratische Untersuchungen*, there is very little difference in any treatises on health from the seventh century before Christ to the eleventh after.

Note that the remedy of King David (p. 73<sup>10</sup>) so much struck the imagination of Bacon that he recommends it in his book on Old Age.

The chapters on the seasons are particularly good examples of Philip's procedure. Take that on Spring (p. 76). Up to 'anni' is in the Eastern text, from there to 'eorundem' is Philip's amplification. The next sentence is taken over and amplified from the Western version. The lyric description of spring, only found in the Eastern text, is faithfully rendered until he reaches the statement that the life of the Bedawin becomes pleasant, for which he substitutes 'cantant aves, resonant philomene'.

The inclusion of these chapters on the seasons in a treatise on diet follows classical precedent, but the treatise as it stands in the Eastern version is clearly written in a country which has four regular seasons, and a temperate climate, perhaps in a hill country some considerable distance from the Mediterranean where classic writers recognized six seasons (Varro eight).

The astronomical statements—only found in the Eastern text—are very interesting. Their definiteness seems to point to an authoritative source on which they are based, but I have been quite unable to find any translated astronomer who gives such numbers. The length of the year as Bacon amends the text is 365 days, but substituting the true reading on p. 80<sup>11</sup>—89 days 14 hours—the length comes out as 365 days 6 hours 11 minutes (the true length is 365 d. 5 h. 48 m. 46 s.), Hipparchus giving it as 365 d. 6 h.; the number adopted by Bacon himself in the *Communia Naturalium* (p. 420).

The date for the vernal equinox—the beginning of the solar year—is March 22 (put in accordance with the Bononian computation as ‘decima die exeunte Marcio’). In the Arabic the names of the months are given in their Syriac form, as is usual in astronomical works, since the lunar Arabic months are unsuitable for calculations. The date of the equinox was adopted as March 21 by the Council of Nicaea in 325, by 1079 it had shifted to March 14, and in Bacon’s time to March 13. Bacon gives the date of the equinox at the Christian era as March 25 (*Op. Maj.* i. 271), which is that given by Hippocrates (‘de hominis structura ad Perdicam’), and pseud-Diocles. Haly takes the equinox as March 17. A glance at the table below will show that the date in our text of March 22 for the equinox is not consistent with the other calculations given: it is probably a concession to the Christianity of the author of the treatise from which it was taken.

TABLE SHOWING VARIATION IN

	Spring begins.	Length, Days.	Summer begins.	Length, Days.	Half-year Length.
Hippocrates, 300 B. C.	March 25	91 <sup>e</sup>	June 24	93	184
Pseud-Diocles.					
Hipparchus, 125 B. C.		94 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>		92 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	187
Church reckoning	March 25	91	June 24	92	183
Ptolemy, A. D. 140	March 22				
Council of Nicaea, 356	March 21				
Bede, 735	March 18	92	June 17	91	183
Ibn Yunus, 832	March 17	93	June 17	92	185
Isaac, 932	March 17	95	June 19	90	185
Albategni, 929		93 <sup>14</sup>		93 <sup>03</sup> <sub>4</sub>	186 <sup>14</sup> <sub>3</sub>
Haly, 994	March 17	94	June 19	92	186
Sec. Secretorum	March 22	92 <sup>23</sup> <sub>1</sub>	June 23	92 <sup>23</sup> <sub>3</sub>	186 <sup>22</sup> <sub>1</sub> <sup>2</sup>
Roger Bacon, 1268	March 13	93	June 14	94	187
As calculated for 1250		93 <sup>6</sup> <sub>10</sub> <sup>9</sup>		93 <sup>7</sup>	186 <sup>13</sup> <sub>1</sub> <sup>9</sup>
,, 1913	March 21	92 <sup>19</sup> <sub>52</sub>		93 <sup>14</sup> <sub>43</sub>	186 <sup>10</sup> <sub>35</sub>

The length of the seasons is continually altering, and though our calendar has been reformed to keep the equinox at its proper date, the length of time during which the sun is north of the equator is always greater than that when he is south of the equator. A glance at the table shows that the length of spring and summer together varies between 183 and 187 days, and that of autumn and winter from 178 to 182. Prof. H. H. Turner informs me that the maximum difference between the two half-years is 7.788 days—7 d. 19 h. approximately, and Prof. C. L. Poor of Columbia University has calculated the true lengths of the seasons for 1250, which appear below, with a difference of 7 d. 22 h. On the other hand, M. Charles Nordmann of the Paris Observatoire has stated in print that towards 1250 the difference amounted to 36 days. There is evidently room for further study of the subject. Incidentally it appears that the solstice and the apogee coincided about 1246–7. Mr. Fotheringham calculates that the length here given of spring was true 17 B.C., of summer A.D. 723, of autumn A.D. 89, and winter A.D. 1256. The dates of the equinoxes and solstices are approximately true for the second century A.D.

The dates and the average lengths of the seasons given in the following table depend on observations of varying value. A method of interpretation seems to point to a date of observation somewhat near that of Haly Abbas, who was not an astronomer, but after that of Albategni who was. It has already been pointed out that the date of the equinox is incompatible with the lengths of the seasons given.

#### CALCULATED LENGTHS OF SEASONS.

<i>Autumn begins.</i>	<i>Length, Days.</i>	<i>Winter begins.</i>	<i>Length, Days.</i>	<i>Winter Half-year.</i>	<i>Difference in Days.</i>
Sep. 25	91 {	Dec. 25 }	90 {	181	3
	97 }	Jan. 1 {	84 }	178½	8½
	88½		90½	182	1
Sep. 24	92	Dec. 25	90		
		Dec. 22	90		
Sep. 17	92	Dec. 18	90	182	1
Sep. 18	90	Dec. 16	90	180	5
Sep. 18	90	Dec. 16	90	180	5
				178·14½	8
Sep. 19	89	Dec. 16	90	179	7
Sep. 24	88·17½	Dec. 22	89·14	178·7½	8½
Sep. 16	88	Dec. 13	90	178	9
	89·8·60		89·7·90	178·15·90	7·12
	89·18·42		89·0·33	178·19·15	7½

The following table is given by Fredrich, op. cit., p. 226:

	<i>Spring.</i>	<i>Summer.</i>	<i>Autumn.</i>	<i>Winter.</i>
Pseud-Eudoxos	93	92 = 185	91	89 '90 = 180
Demokritos	91	92 = 183	91	91/92 = 182
Euktemon	90	90 = 180	92	93 = 185
Kalippos	92	89 = 181	90	94 = 184

The Western form seems to have been modified a little by its passage through Africa somewhere about the eleventh or twelfth century. Johannes Hispalensis added to his version, at the end, the following paragraph, which was not in his text as far as we know: 'Quatuor equidem anni tempora per partes distinguntur, ut a medio Marcii usque ad medium Junii ver habeatur, a cuius medio usque ad medium Septembbris estas computatur, a medio Septembbris usque ad medium Decembris autumpnus, a medio Decembris usque ad medium Marcii, ubi ver incipit, hyems habeatur.' Some texts of his version have been enlarged by additions from Philip's translation.

Section 1, *de calore naturali*, is taken over (and expanded a little) by Philip from Johannes Hispalensis. Comparing it with his translation from the Eastern text lines 19-30 (p. 81) correspond almost word for word with cap. 20 (pp. 88-9), pp. 82<sup>1</sup>-83<sup>8</sup> with pp. 94<sup>22</sup>-96<sup>2</sup>.

The 'regula Ypocratis' has not been traced. We may conjecture that it was present in the copy of Hispalensis used by Philip, as it is found in all the manuscripts.

The paragraph beginning 'Curacio enim . . .' belongs to the next section and is usually found at the end of the 'de oculis', the words 'Habeatur semper venter laxus in omni egritudine ex replecione' being added.

Section m, *de divisione corporis*, is only found in the Eastern version, and is therefore a late addition. It is a translation of part of a tract by the pseud-Diocles, which is preserved for us at the end of the second book of Paulus Aegineta. It was translated into Latin half a dozen times in the sixteenth century, from apparently two differing texts, but was known in England in Anglo-Saxon. The treatise is nearly identical with that written for Maecenas by Antonius Musa, published in 1538, and resembles in some respects that of Soranus. The four parts of the body are the head, chest, belly, and genitals. Very early in the history of this translation of the *Secretum* a chapter 'de oculis' was substituted for that 'de ventre'. Bacon's

text is of this class. Much of it, but not all, is derived from Razis, otherwise no Arabic original is known.

What is curious is that while Philip's text nearly certainly had the 'de ventre', yet Mesue, while really quoting from Razis or some one of his school, attributes his quotations to Aristotle instructing Alexander, and actually gets near a quotation from p. 69<sup>1</sup>.

Section n, *de conservantibus sanitatem*, is of unknown origin, though lines 1 and 2 of p. 88 are found in Razis. It is difficult to understand the fact that nearly every good manuscript of the *Secretum* omits lines 22 and 23, 'Indus dixit . . .', though they are in the Arabic text. It may be conjectured that they had been accidentally omitted in the reviser's text.

Who was the man of royal and imperial family (p. 88<sup>25</sup>) who used figs and rue as an antidote? Was it, by chance, Henry III's brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans (1250), or Charles of Anjou?

Section o, *de cibis*. This section derives from some as yet unidentified source: its author is of the school of Razis. There is nothing like it in Serapion, Isaac, Haly, or Mesue. It quotes (90<sup>14</sup>) from a 'liber de pulmentis et medicinis' not yet identified. The precepts as to drinking water are, generally, similar to those of Greek physicians. The chapter on wine is evidently not Mohammedan, and is much enlarged by Philip.

Section p, *de corroborantibus et macerantibus*. As Bacon remarks, this section is a repetition of section n, this time from the Eastern version.

Section q, *de balneo*. This seems to be the first account in European languages of the Hammam or Turkish Bath as we know it. Avicenna (I. i. 2-19) describes only three chambers of the bath, the first cooling and moistening, the second warming and moistening, the third warming and drying. This arrangement resembles that of the Roman baths, and his system is evidently founded on the current treatises of Galen and Hippocrates.

Section r (pp. 98-104), *de medicinis*. In this section we have a receipt for a panacea. The various prescriptions are noticeable for the comparatively small number of ingredients they contain, when compared with any of the better known formularies, or those preserved in Budge's Syriac Book of Medicine. It is curious that Philip omits mention of the pulse, which should come where he speaks of 'signis precedentibus' (p. 98<sup>8</sup>). The book 'de pulsibus'

referred to in the Arabic text has yet to be identified. The 'de aquis' in line 13 is, as the Arabic text shows, 'de urinis'. The 'de medicinis compositis' has already been referred to (p. 90<sup>14</sup>).

The names of the eight physicians who invented this wonderful medicine present some difficulty in the way of identification. Here are some lists.

(1) Esculapius, (2) Hermogenes medicus, (3) Hirfos, (4) Donasties, (5) Vatildos, (6) Hebrei, (7) Dioris, (8) Caraus.

(1) Ascalanus, (2) Nasiurus, (3) Ailin, (4) Dunntanas, (5) Kutarus.

(1) Aflanus, (2) Nasyoras, (3) Hermes the second, (4) Bartomali, (5) Dadastius, (6) Ablac, (7) Robaris, (8) Fataria.

(1) Estefan, (2) Djasious, (3) Ankilaus, (4) Marinous, (5) Theodose, (6) Afladious, (7) Johannes.

Compare these lists with the names of the eight great physicians in the *Kitab al Fihrist* (p. 286).

(1) Askolapius the first, (2) Ghurus, (3) Minus, (4) Barmamdos, (5) Plato the doctor, (6) Askolapius the second, (7) Hippocrates the second, who took hold on souls, (8) Jalenus, the meaning of which is 'the silent'.

Section s, *de viperis*. This section has not yet been found in any Arabic text of the *Secretum*, and is in only a few Latin ones. In nearly all of these it follows section t. The greater part of it, all that is ordinarily found, is taken directly from Avicenna (1037), who probably took it from Razis (d. 932), *Ad Almansorem*, t. 8, c. 2. Bacon added the first paragraph and some further extracts. Similar passages are found in Serapion, tr. vii (f. 63<sup>v</sup>, ed. 1525): see also Haly ii. 2. 52 and Galen, *de antidotis*, pp. 193-6 (ed. 1560).

Section t (pp. 108-10), *de regimine medicine per astronomiam*. This chapter, which occurs only in the Eastern version, is interesting as an early document in the extension of astrology to medicine which became general in Europe at the end of the thirteenth century, and is there attributed by Dr. Rashdall to the influence of the University of Bologna—Cecco d'Ascoli summing it up thus<sup>1</sup>: 'Medicus sine Astrologia est quasi oculus qui non est in potentia ad operationem.'

There is no trace of this influence in the great classics of Arabic medicine. In some of them the old belief that the quantity of humours increased and decreased with the waxing and waning of the moon, which was held by Galen and his school, appears in connexion with sanitary blood-letting, but nothing more.

<sup>1</sup> But quoting from Hipparchus.

It was the astrologers who made the extension. If the moon influenced the blood, then any position of the heavens which modified its powers, for better or worse, would necessarily affect that influence.

Philip, or his copyist, was evidently not an astrologer, as is evident by the mistake on line 16 'Mercurius' for Mars : an astrologer would have used the symbol and avoided the possibility of error from the use of a contraction in writing. All the Arabic texts give  $13^{\circ}$  instead of  $4^{\circ}$  or  $6^{\circ}$  in line 11, and instead of Taurus, Cancer, Pisces, and Gemini in line 12 give Sagittarius, Aquarius, Capricorn, and Gemini.

As to cupping, Philip's text directly contradicts the original as regards the age of the Moon, which should be in its first fortnight, and again puts Mercury for Mars (l. 7) : in line 8 'Mercurius' should be Jupiter. Lines 9 and 10 are a complete mistranslation.

In the paragraph as to laxative medicines the text is abbreviated. The mistake as to Mercury is repeated (p. 119<sup>1</sup>).

The final paragraph on p. 110 with the sphere on p. 111 is not part of the original *Secretum* as we have it in any Arabic manuscript. None of the Latin manuscripts known to me contain the sphere except those which derive from the Bacon text. The table on p. 112 may be of Bacon's composition. Bacon's treatise on Astrology (*Op. Maj.* i. 376) may be compared.

Section u (pp. 217-18), *de musica*. A short section, on the curative power of music in mental diseases, is not translated in any Latin version known. It is followed in the Arabic by the section on Physiognomy. When the original tenth book (Eastern version) was broken up, a part of it (sections O and P) was brought here to change places with the Physiognomy.

Section O (pp. 114-17), *de alchimia*. We have no Arabic original for the first paragraph of this section, which looks as if it had been written by the editors of Philip when it was transferred to this place and broken off from the first part of the book (pp. 157-63). The 'de lapidibus' referred to (l. 23) is printed by Rose in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xviii. N.F. vi (1875), pp. 349 sqq. It has a preface resembling that of the *Secretum* and purports to have been translated from Greek into Syriac. The 'de plantis' is probably the well-known work of that name translated early in the thirteenth century from the Arabic into Latin by Alfredus Anglicus de Sareshel, and printed by Meyer in 1841.

From this point (p. 114<sup>25</sup>) on we have one of the earliest and

most important pronouncements of theoretical alchemy. Its immediate success is shown by the number of quotations made from it by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. Page 114<sup>27</sup> is cited by a very early work on alchemy—the ‘liber Kalid’: ‘Ut dixit philosophus in suo libro quando nominat eum sic: Accipe lapidem non lapidem, vel qui non est lapis, nec est de natura lapidis: et est lapis cuius minera generatur in capite montium. Et philosophus voluit dicere montes pro animal’. Page 115<sup>13</sup> is quoted and commented on in the Book of El Habib, published by Berthelot, *Hist. des Sciences du Moyen Age*, iii. 96: ‘Aristote disait à Rouious, fils de Platon: Recevez mes paroles: prenez l’œuf, séparez-en l’esprit, traitez-le avec l’eau du fleuve, et la chaleur du soleil dans l’aludel; puis partagez le produit en ses différentes parties. Quand vous aurez séparé l’air de l’eau, l’eau du feu, le feu de la terre, prenez le cuivre; divisez-le et broyez-le avec l’humidité du produit: traitez ensuite jusqu’à ce qu’il devienne blanc. Quand le cuivre sera devenu blanc, traitez-le avec l’eau de soufre, jusqu’à ce qu’il devienne rouge. Quand le métal sera rouge, placez-le dans une chambre chaude, pour le transformer en or.’ See also Comarius in the *Collection des alchimistes grecs*, trad., p. 285. There are countless later explanations of this paragraph; see, for example, that in the *Rosarium Philosophorum*, p. 267.

The ordinary printed texts (Achillini’s edition) insert here two chapters from the Hebrew translation of the Western version which will be found on pp. 173–4. The first gives a different theory of Alchemy, the second describes a magic ring. They are not found in any Arabic text that I know of. Achillini also removed section P from its place and printed it before this section.

From this point to the end of the section is the famous Emerald Table of Hermes, which appears here in its earliest known form. It has every appearance of considerable antiquity and is probably of Egyptian origin, passing through Byzantine treatises. There are several distinct translations of it current, but this is probably the best, as it is, on the whole, the simplest. The Arabic text appears to have received some additions.

The following are some of the forms in which it is found:

1. Veritas ita se habet et non est dubium.  
Verum sine mendacio certum et verissimum.  
Verum est et ab omni mendaciorum involucro remotum.  
Vere non ficte, certo verissimeque aio.

2. Quod inferiora superioribus et superiora inferioribus respondent.  
 Quod est inferius est sicut quod est superius, et quod est  
 superius est sicut quod est inferius.  
 Quocunque inferius est simile est ejus quod est superius.  
 Inferiora hac cum superioribus illis, istaque cum iis vicissim  
 veres sociant.

3. Operator miraculorum unus solus est Deus, a quo descendit  
 omnis operacio mirabilis.

Ad perpetranda miracula res unius.

Per hoc acquiruntur et perficiuntur mirabilia operis unius rei,  
 ut producant rem unam omnium mirificissimam.

4. Sic omnes res generantur ab una sola substancia, una sua sole  
 dispositione.

Et sicut omnes res fuerunt ab uno meditatione unius, sic  
 omnes res natae fuerunt ab hac una re adaptatione.

Quemadmodum etiam omnia ex uno fiunt per considera-  
 tionem unius ita omnia ex uno hoc facta sunt per con-  
 junctionem.

Acquemadmodum cuncta educta ex uno fuere verbo Dei  
 Unius, sic omnes quoque res perpetuo ex hac una re  
 generantur dispositione Naturae.

5. Quarum pater est Sol, quarum mater est Luna.

Pater ejus est sol, mater ejus luna.

Pater ejus est sol, mater luna.

Patrem ea habet solem, matrem lunam.

6. Que portavit ipsam naturam per auram in utero, terra impreg-  
 nata est ab ea.

Portavit illud ventus in ventre suo, nutrix ejus terra est.

Ventus in utero gestavit, nutrix ejus est terra.

Ab aere in utero quasi gestatur, nutritur a terra.

7. Hinc dicitur Sol causatorum pater, thesaurus miraculorum,  
 largitor virtutum.

Pater omnis thelesmi (coelestini) totius mundi est hic. Vis  
 ejus integra est.

Mater omnis perfectionis. Potentia ejus perfecta est.

Causa omnis perfectionis rerum ea est per universum hoc.

8. Ex igne facta est terra.

Si versa fuerit in terram.

Si mutatur in terram.

Ad summum ipsa perfectionem virium pervenit si redierit in  
 humum.

9. Separa terrenum ab igneo, quia subtile dignius est grosso, et  
 rarum spisso. Hoc fit sapienter et discrete.

Separabis terram ab igne, subtile a spisso suaviter cum magno  
 ingenio.

Terram ab igne separato subtile et tenue a grosso et crasso,  
 et quidem prudenter cum modestia et sapientia.

In partes tribuito humum ignem passam, attenuant densitatem ejus re omnium suavissima.

10. Ascendit enim de terra in celum, et ruit de celo in terram, et inde interficit superiorem et inferiorem virtutem.

Ascendit *(lapis)* a terra in coelum, iterumque descendit in terram, et recipit vim superiorum et inferiorum.

In hoc a terra ascendit, in coelum hoc a terra, et a coelo rursus in terram descendit, et potentiam et efficaciam superiorum et inferiorum recipit.

Summa ascende ingenii sagacitate a terra in coelum, indeque rursum in terram descende ac vires superiorum inferiorumque coge in unum.

11. Sic ergo dominatur inferioribus et superioribus, et tu dominaberis sursum et deorsum, tecum est lux luminum, et propter hoc fugient a te omnes tenebre.

Sic habebis gloriam totius mundi, ideo fugiat a te omnis obscuritas

(Et ita habebis gloriam claritatis totius mundi, et a te fugiet omnis obscuritas).

Hoc modo acquisiris gloriam totius mundi, propulsabis igitur tenebras omnes et coecitatem.

Sic potiere gloria totius mundi; atque ita abjectae sortis homo amplius non habere.

12. Virtus superior vincit omnia.

Hic est totius fortitudinis fortitudo fortis.

Haec enim fortitudo omni alia fortitudine ac potentiae palmam praeripiens.

Ita haec jam res ipsa fortitudine fortior existet.

13. Omne enim rarum agit in omne densem.

Quia vincet omnem rem subtilem, omnemque solidam penetrabit.

Omnia namque subtilia et crassa duraque penetrare ac subigere potest.

Corpora quippe tam tenuia quam solida penetrando subige.

14. Et secundum dispositionem majoris mundi currit hec operacio. Sic mundus creatus est.

Hoc mundus hic conditus est.

Atque sic quidem quaecunque mundus continet creata fuere.

15. Et propter hoc vocatur Hermogenes triplex in philosophia.

(Ita erunt in re ista adaptationes et dispositiones mirabiles.)

Hinc adaptationes erunt mirabiles quarum modus est hic.

Itaque vocatus sum Hermes Trismegistus, habens tres partes Philosophiae totius mundi.

Et hinc conjunctiones ejus mirabiles et effectus mirandi; cum haec via sit per quam haec mira efficiantur. Et propter hoc Hermetis Trismegisti nomine me appellarunt: cum

habeam partes tres sapientiae et Philosophicae universi mundi.

Hinc admiranda evadunt opera, quae ad eundem modum instituuntur. Mihi vero ideo nomen Hermetis Trismegisti impositum fuit, quod trium mundi Sapientiae partium Doctor deprehensus sum.

Section P (pp. 118-23), *de lapidibus et vegetabilibus*. The chapter on wonderful stones is taken from the Arabic form of the ‘*de lapidibus*’ already referred to (p. xlvi), as the following extracts show.

357<sup>28</sup>. Est quidam alter lapis qui se gestantem exaltat inter homines, et hunc nominavimus in alio loco.

376<sup>29</sup>. Expositio lapidis qui occultatur de die et apparet de nocte. Iste lapis invenitur in mari hyspania prope Offanos. Et istud est mare quod nominavimus in hoc libro quod crescit in uno tempore anni et exit ripas . . .

376<sup>30</sup>. Nunc nominabimus quandam lapidem quem laudare volumus. Iste lapis levis est supernatans aque, de nocte separatur a fundo aque ad superficium ejus id est super faciem aque apparet de nocte. Et quando sol incipit oriri et lapis immergitur in aquam ne tangatur a sole descendens ad fundum deductus nunc dextrorum nunc sinistrorum undis et vento donec in fundo perveniens in aliquo loco terre quiescat. Et quando sol iterum incipit declinari et lapis incipit elevari paulatim sic ut post solis occasum supra aquam apparet. Si quis acceperit ex hoc lapide tres dragmas et collis equorum suspendat non poterunt hinnire quamdiu ad collum habuerint lapidem suspensum. Idem quoque accidit de aliis bestiis. Nam quecumque lapidem ad collem suum suspensum habuerit non poterit vociferare vel mugire quamdiu eum ita tulerit. Alexander precepit hominibus sui exercitus quod animalibus suis adaptarent hos lapides ut dictum est, ut animalibus non facientibus tumultum clamoris, non haberet Alexander impedimentum donec esset supra inimicos suos nutu Dei.

Expositio lapidis qui occultatur de nocte et apparet de die . . . Bonitas si quidem hujus lapidis est quod si suspensus fuerit collo bestie non cessabit clamare secundum proprietatem sui soni quamdiu ad collum habuerit de die et de nocte.

Chapter III on marvellous plants (pp. 119-21) has an interesting account of the action of the planets on vegetable life. It is somewhat noteworthy that in the Arabic text the principle of fluidity is attributed to Jupiter, contrary to the whole scheme of astrological theory. Philip restores it to Mercury.

Chapter IV (pp. 121-3) with its list of magic plants defies

annotation. It is the last chapter of the *Secretum* in its original form, lines 3–6 being the final paragraph of the tenth Discourse.

Section A (pp. 123–6), *de justicia*. Discourse III. This section seems to have been the whole of Discourse III of the original *Secretum*, though in the Vulgate Latin text section B, ‘*de exitu rerum*’, (pp. 127–32), is included in the third Book: in both the Western and Eastern texts it forms part of Discourse IV. The Western text is much shorter than the Eastern, the passage between 124<sup>6</sup> and 125<sup>10</sup> having been inserted. As will be seen from the variants in the Arabic version this passage has been the subject of considerable revision: it is an attempt to state, in philosophical terms, the relationship of Justice to the Deity. Philip, if the text before him at all resembled any we have, has considerably enlarged the argument, and in some places misunderstood it, and Bacon in his glosses entirely misses the original meaning.

Apart from this passage, the section is most probably of Persian origin. Lines 123<sup>23</sup> sqq. may be paralleled with the following from the *Prairies d'Or*, ii. 155: ‘Ardéshir disait aussi: Un roi doit donner un libre cours à sa justice. La justice est la source de tous les biens; c'est une citadelle élevée pour la défense de l'État et le maintien de l'ordre; le déni de justice est le premier symptôme de la ruine d'un pays.’ The inscription in Syriac (p. 124<sup>5</sup>) and the counsels of Ardéshir to his son Sabur on his accession to the throne, from the same work (ii. 162), also run on similar lines: ‘Sachez, ô mon fils, que la religion et la royauté sont deux sœurs qui ne peuvent exister l'une sans l'autre . . .’ In p. 124<sup>3</sup> and 124<sup>20</sup> the Vulgate text gives the correct reading.

The most interesting part of the section is the philosophic diagram, divided into degrees, showing the government of the world. The proper arrangement of the diagram is shown in the note on p. 126, but Philip's text evidently was not drawn up in that form, and no Latin text known to me has it. As a result Bacon's gloss is altogether beside the point. The form in which this collection of sayings appears is usually that of Aristotle's grave. Hunain ibn Ishak, in his Aphorisms of philosophers and physicians, thus recounts it. ‘When Aristotle came to die he gave an order that an octagonal building should be raised over his tomb, and that on the eight sides of it eight mottoes touching all that serves the advantage of mankind should be written. (1) The world is a garden whose edge is fortune. (2) Fortune is a sovereign protected by firmness. (3) Firmness is government

directed by the king. (4) The king is a guardian aided by troops. (5) Troops are helpers nourished by treasure. (6) Treasure is goods amassed by subjects. (7) Subjects are slaves subjugated by Justice. (8) Justice is a custom on which depends the peace of the world.' Sanguinetti, *Journal Asiatique*, ser. v. (1856) 8, p. 352.

Another form occurs in the *Placita Philosophorum* of John of Procida. (1) 'Mundus iste est quidam ortus, et ejus fossata sunt regna. (2) Regna vero manutenentur per leges. (3) Leges statuit rex, (4) Rex vero per militiam suam tenetur. (5) Militia vero pecunia gubernatur. (6) Pecunia autem a populo colligitur. (7) Populus vero est justitia servus. (8) Justitia vero regitur mundus.' Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, iii. 117.

It is noteworthy that the *Placita Philosophorum* is said to be translated from the Greek by John of Procida at Salerno, so that there may be a Byzantine origin for this diagram.

The Arabic tradition is preserved by Al Makin in his *Universal History*.

'And Aristotle wrote in the book which hath been mentioned admonitions which would instruct a man in the doing of justice, and he said therein that justice is the strength of the world, that it is the chief of all virtues, that wealth and armies increase through it, and that nations become subject through it; he said, moreover, that justice maketh a man to show himself friendly, and that it is the strong prop of the world. Now he likened the world unto a garden, the wall of which is kingship, and kingship is the knowledge which maketh the king to administer wisely his dominions. The king is the man who should help his army, and the king who is helped by his army shall gather together for it wealth and possessions; riches shall make a nation to gather together unto themselves benefits: uprightness shall make slaves to submit unto a (free) people; and let integrity be the working power in the beginning of thy words and in the end thereof. Know too that by it the whole world standeth, and that by the excellence thereof cities are founded, and wealth is gathered together, and that soldiers and armies increase thereby and serve a people.' Budge, *Alexander*, ii, p. 383.

Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) in his *Prolegomena (Notées et Extraits*, xix. 80) preserves another tradition.

p. 80. Dans la fable du hibou, telle qu'elle est rapportée par Masoudi, le moubedan dit, entre autres choses, à Behram, fils de Behram: 'O roi, le souverain n'arrive au faîte de la puissance que par l'observation de la loi, par une submission entière à Dieu et par l'exactitude à respecter ses commandements et ses prohibitions. La loi ne peut subsister sans le souverain: le souverain n'est puissant que

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par ses soldats : pour entretenir ses soldats il faut avoir de l'argent : l'argent ne se procure que par l'agriculture : point d'agriculture sans une juste administration : la justice est une balance dressée par le Seigneur au milieu des hommes, et près de laquelle il a placé un inspecteur, qui est le roi.'

Anouchirouan disait sur le même sujet : 'Sans armée, point de roi : sans argent, point d'armée : sans impôts, point d'argent : sans agriculture, point d'impôts : sans administration juste, point d'agriculture : sans rectitude de conduite, point de bonne administration : sans l'intégrité des vizirs, point de rectitude de conduite. Le point capital c'est que le roi examine par lui-même la condition de ses sujets et qu'il soit assez fort pour les châtier, afin qu'il règne sur eux et n'en soit pas dominé.'

Le traité sur la politique attribué à Aristote, et qui circule dans le public, contient plusieurs observations de ce genre ; mais elles ne sont pas présentées d'une manière complète, ni appuyées de toutes les preuves qu'elles réclament ; de plus, elles se trouvent mêlées à d'autres matières. Dans le même ouvrage l'auteur a indiqué aussi les maximes générales que nous avons rapportées d'après le Moubedan et Anouchirouan. Il les a rangées dans un cercle dont il fait un grand éloge, et qui les présente de cette manière : 'Le monde est un jardin dont le gouvernement est la clôture : le gouvernement est une puissance qui assure le maintien de la loi : la loi est une règle administrative dont la royauté surveille l'exécution : la royauté est un lien qui tient sa force de l'armée : l'armée est un corps d'auxiliaires qui servent pour l'argent : l'argent est un subside fourni par les sujets : les sujets sont des serviteurs protégés par la justice : la justice doit entrer dans les habitudes du peuple, car elle assure l'existence du monde. Or le monde est un jardin,' etc. L'auteur revient ainsi au commencement de sa proposition. . . .

124<sup>4</sup>. 'lingua Caldea' is in the Arabic 'Syriac' (Siriyānī).

Section B (pp. 127–32). *de exitu rerum*. Discourse IV. In both forms of the Arabic text this section opens with a paragraph emphasizing the importance of what is to follow as revealing the nature of the intellect. It then proceeds to an account of the creation of the simple spiritual substance (of which the angels—or intelligences—are composed) and of the 'anima universalis' (which Bacon alters to 'universaliter'). At this point the Eastern text interposes a long account, more or less of neo-Platonist origin, of the development of the material universe (a simplification of his account of supramundane causes—emanations) and of the soul (pp. 127<sup>9</sup>–32<sup>5</sup>) which is absent in the Western text. The addendum treats of 'hyle' or primary matter, of matter itself collected in the nine spheres (Bacon alters the text silently to ten), of the motions of the spheres which lead to the composition of all things mineral, vegetable, and animal, and finally

of man, in whose composition all things are found. The universal soul has three powers, intellective, sensitive, and vegetative, working in bodies like sunlight in the air. This threefold division is that of Bacon himself, since the Latin Vulgate and the Arabic speak of a twofold division—the perceptive and the active, ‘una quarum virium est signum, secunda vero operans’ (130<sup>19</sup>), which latter has seven modes of action. In line 22 Bacon alters ‘vegetativa’ into ‘generativa’, but the seven months assigned for gestation seems to be due to Philip, as the Arabic gives the usual number. The divisions of human life (p. 13) vary from text to text. All agree on the end of the first period, but the Latin Vulgate assigns 13, Bacon 14, and the Arabic 15, as the next. The phrase ‘quia in 15<sup>mo</sup> anno potest generare’ is only found in Bacon’s edition. All agree as to 30 for the next period, but Bacon then jumps to 50, while Philip and the Arabic say 40. The next period ends at 50 (Arabic), 60 (Philip), or 70 (Bacon), from which time the soul is preparing itself for the end of life. If the soul is perfect and complete before its separation from the body it is taken up by the ‘virtute anime universalis’ (Bacon leaves out the mention of the ‘anima’) to supernal perfection, until at last it reaches the sphere of the intelligences and becomes part of the Universal Soul. Philip, however, omits this last phrase, and in its place substitutes one describing the fate of that soul which does seek after perfection.

Section C (pp. 132–43), *de bajulis*. Book IV, Latin text. We now return (p. 132<sup>20</sup>) to the original form for four lines (l. 12 ending ‘regem in ipsa’), and then begin a new digression on the senses, prompted by the idea of reason as ruler of the body.

The paragraph as to the sense of sight is altered by Bacon from ten to twenty-two species of sensation as in Alhazen whom he quotes as the ‘Perspective’.

In the description of the sense of touch Bacon adds (l. 26) ‘et in omnibus predictis de visu preter lucem et colorem’, and to that of smell the whole of the paragraph as to human odour.

The final paragraph of the digression deals with the virtues of the number five: five planets, five kinds of animals, five essential parts of plants, five musical tones, five best days in the year, and five ports of the sea.

These two groups are difficult to explain. The Arabic text speaks of the days as the last days of Adhar (March), not May. I have been unable to find any other trace of this belief. The five intercalary

days are nearly always considered unlucky ; they occur in the Coptic year as September 5-10, in the Sothic year July 15-20, and in the Alexandrian August 24-28.

The five ports of the sea must be Bacon's addition ; they are found in no other text, Arabic or Latin, that I have met. They are obviously the Cinque Ports.

The whole of this digression leads up to the advice to Alexander to have five chamberlains and five counsellors. But the Western text, on the contrary, advises only one counsellor, whose advice is to be taken on every occasion. The two texts come together again on the advice of Hermes (p. 135<sup>16</sup>) and immediately diverge—the Western text still presupposing a single counsellor—until p. 136<sup>17</sup> when they again meet. In the tale which follows the astrological details are only to be found in the Eastern version. Mars is now substituted for Mercury (see p. 108) as a favourite planet. 'Venere' (l. 3) should be 'Virgine' and 'Libra' should be 'Jove'. Bacon's conjecture is all wrong according to his own table on pp. 21, 22.

From p. 137<sup>18</sup> to p. 138<sup>12</sup> is only found in the Eastern version, like the passage from p. 139<sup>24</sup> to p. 140<sup>8</sup>. In 140<sup>6</sup> the Arabic reads 'the days of joy are seven, so are those of sorrow', instead of 'the days of taking medicine are seven and the critical days of a disease are seven'. From p. 140<sup>21</sup> to p. 141<sup>12</sup> also is peculiar to the Eastern text.

The qualities of a good counsellor, pp. 141-2, differ slightly in each manuscript.

Section D (p. 143), *de microcosmo*. There are many variants on this theme, and no two lists are precisely the same. It is entirely Eastern in character, no hint of it being found in the various writers on the microcosm and the macrocosm.

A somewhat similar idea is found in Cardonne, *Mélanges*, ii. 83 : 'Nouchirvan, king of Persia, asked his Wazir, Buzuf Djumher, for a definition of courage. He said : A brave man should have the courage of a lion, the valour of a cock, the impetuosity of a boar, the ferocity of a wolf, the rage of a tiger, the cleverness of a fox, the patience of a dog, the vigilance of a crane, and the prudence of a raven.'

A number of such comparisons are found in the Eastern animal stories.

Section E (pp. 144-6), *de Mago et Judeo*. This story is found in the tenth-century encyclopedia, the *Ikhwan as-safa*, published by Dieterici in 1868 under the title of *Die Logik und Psychologie*

*der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert n. Chr.* The Mage came from Kerman and the Jew from Ispahan. The conversations are fuller in the earlier form, which has not the introduction and the final paragraph as to the reward of the Mage. The story is not found in some Arabic MSS. of the *Secretum*, while it is replaced in the Western version by some general remarks.

Section F (pp. 146-7), *de scribis*. Discourse V. In the seven-book scheme of the Western Arabic text this section is not counted as a separate discourse, but is comprised in Discourse IV. The emphasis on fine handwriting, which is minimized in Philip's version, is characteristic of its Persian origin. It will be observed that lines 9 and 10 are a perversion of the original, which warns the king to keep a close watch on his secretary.

Section G (pp. 147-8), *de nunciis*. Discourse VI. This section is in the Western version misplaced after section H, and is there reckoned Discourse VII in the eight-book scheme or V in the seven-book scheme. Philip seems to have misunderstood his original in lines 24 and 25. Line 25 is indeed unintelligible in any text: it should say that affairs may not go as you foresaw, as the right course to take might turn out to be different from that you had ordered. The last four lines of the section have been given a different bearing in the Latin: the original says nothing of the punishment of a faithless ambassador, as to which no advice was needed in the East.

Section H (pp. 148-9), *de subditis*. Discourse VII. Philip mis-translates l. 25 and the three which follow it. The text contrasts trees which do not require to be sown every year with annual plants. The last sentence is an addition of Philip.

This section is the concluding part of Discourse IV in the Western Arabic seven-book form, and is Discourse VI in the eight-book form and its Hebrew translation, though it is really included in Discourse IV of the preliminary list of books (p. 179).

Section I (pp. 149-51), *de proceribus*. Discourse VIII. This is also Gate VIII of the Western text, though it is part of Discourse VI in the preliminary list of books.

The method described in this chapter of organizing an army by tens is that of the Roman army with its decurions, centurions, &c., which passed over to the Byzantine Empire. It was adopted by Gengis Khan as described by Abul Faraj, *Chron. Dynast.* x, p. 450, ed. Pocock.

Ammonius (*de Categoris*) amongst others speaks of the advantages of classifying by tens, and refers to the composition of ten by adding one, two, three, and four.

The account of the horn of Temistius (p. 151<sup>16</sup>) is found only in a few of the MSS. of the Eastern version, and not in the Western form at all. From l. 23 to the end is an early addition, not found in the ordinary Latin texts, though probably not by Bacon, since it is added by Achillini, in a slightly altered form, to his woodcut of the great horn in his editions of 1501 and 1516. From this woodcut the horn was copied incorrectly by Kircher in his *Ars magna lucis et umbrae*, ii. 1. 7 (Rome 1646, p. 140), and again in his *Phonurgia nova* (1674, p. 132), in which work an engraved plate is given with suggestions as to its use. No Latin manuscript is known in which there is a figure of the horn, with the exception of that in Holkham Hall, in the borders of which an entirely fanciful instrument is depicted (reproduced in plate 151 of the Roxburghe Club publication of 1914). There are drawings in MSS. C and D of the Eastern Arabic text, of entirely different shape.

The name Temistius or Themistius in the Latin text seems to be taken from 'The Book of Astamatis' described by Al Makin. Our Arabic texts give Yayastayus. 'And besides this he (Aristotle) wrote the book which is called "The Book of Astamatis" which treateth of the breaching of cities and fortresses and kings' houses and of the submission of kings, and of how men should make use of talismans and of the knowledge derived therefrom, and of the names which will bring down rain and water to them in the desert and in the waste land, whensoever they utter them.' Budge, *Alexander*, ii. 384.

Kircher's note as to the size of the horn (five cubits in diameter) and the distance at which it could be heard (100 stadia) does not seem to rest on any manuscript authority.

l. 17 'ad nocendum' seems an early misreading for 'advocandum'.

Section K (pp. 152-5), *Noli frequentare bella*. Discourse IX. This section, which begins a separate discourse, the seventh, in the list of books of the eight-book Western texts, is part of the preceding one, the sixth, in that of the seven-book form, while in the body of the text it is Gate IX. The Latin translation follows the Eastern text fairly closely, with some interesting variants. In p. 152<sup>9-12</sup> Philip gives a literal translation of a passage by no means clear in the original. In p. 153<sup>3</sup> is a complete mistranslation. 'War is either aggressive or defensive', and 'ita quod' should really begin the next

sentence. In l. 15 the original is altered from mail coats and cuirasses to slings and arrows. The 'formam speciosissimam' of l. 18, 'artistic images' of the Eastern text, refers to the 'instruments which cause dread and trembling which I made for thee when thou didst engage in battle against Nahalah the Indian' of the Western text. It is interesting to observe that where the Eastern text usually speaks of 'beasts of burden of Khurasan' the Western speaks of 'packhorses and elephants'.

The advice on p. 154<sup>4</sup> to prepare stores of food and drink is a mis-translation of the original, which recommends the construction of pitfalls in the way of the enemy with caltrops (*Almhavi*) in them. The account of the Persians, Turks, and Parthians (l. 27) does not correspond to any of our Arabic manuscripts. W speaks only of the Turks as 'valorous and very foolish', the Eastern texts go on to advise using them as guards. The Turks are mentioned in the *Tactics* of Leo 18. 39. 47 with a somewhat similar character. The words 'unus populus . . . uxores' (l. 28) are only found in the Bacon group of Latin MSS.

The section, while not corresponding with any of the Byzantine works on the arts of war, has considerable affinity with such works as the *Kestos* of Sextus Julius Africanus or the *Tactics* of Leo.

Section L (pp. 155–6), *de eleccione temporis*. This section, entirely astrological, is found only in the Eastern Arabic texts. Lines 2–5 (p. 156) are a repetition of those at the end of the preceding section and are not found in the ordinary printed or MS. Latin texts.

A considerably larger proportion than usual of the astrology corresponds with that of the original, but in lines 13 and 25 Mercury should be Jupiter, in l. 24 Mars.

Section M (pp. 250–2). This section, Gate X in the Western eight-book form, was not translated into Latin, obviously because of the difficulty of assigning corresponding numerical values to the letters of the Latin alphabet, but it has made a great success in the East. It closes Discourse IX of the Eastern form and Discourse VI or VII of the lists of books in the two Western ones, being Gate X of the eight-book form. It is the last of the forty works assigned to Aristotle in Ibn Abi Usaib'a—the *Kitab al-Yatīm*. See also Haji Khalifa, v. 173 (10633), vii. 858, 496 (805). An article by Steinschneider, 'Intorno ad otto manoscritti . . .', Rome, 1867, has a note (p. 88) on the subject, with references to manuscripts in several languages.

An account of this method of calculation is found in the thirteenth-century Syriac Book of Medicine, published by Dr. Budge, vol. ii., pp. 540-1, whose translation is here quoted :

Another calculation whereby a man is able to know beforehand which of two men who are striving together will die. It was made by Aristotle for King Alexander his royal disciple, when he was waging war against Darius the Mede, and Alexander conquered Darius. This calculation is sure, and hath been well tried. It is useful to every one who wageth war against his neighbour, and striveth in respect of matters of business, and to kings, and to all men, both little and great. Observe when thou wishest to know when *(two)* men are waging war against each other, which will conquer. Take the numerical values of the letters of the name of each by itself, and take from the sum of each as many nines as there are in each, and see how many remain to thee in each case, and bear them *(in thy mind)*. Then come to the following letters, and from them thou wilt learn which will conquer. One conquereth three, five, seven, and nine. Two conquereth one, four, six, and eight. Three conquereth two, five, seven, and nine. Four conquereth one, three, six, and eight. Five conquereth two, four, seven, and nine. Six conquereth one, three, five, and eight. Seven conquereth two, four, six, and nine. Eight conquereth one, three, five, and seven. Nine conquereth two, four, six, and eight. And if there be two in one name, or the numbers in the two names are equal, the combatant, that is the elder will conquer the younger. This calculation is a very sure one, and it is mentioned by the philosophers. When they made the calculation about Alexander's name there remained eight, and when they made the calculation about the name of Darius there remained seven ; and observe that eight conquered seven, so it cometh in one case after another, with the thing that was lost and was found, and with the man who died, and with the man who was healed, and so on when thou knowest well the name of the sick man and the name of the day in which he perceived his sickness.

Ibn Khaldun in his *Prolégomènes (Notices et Extraits, 19. 241)* has the following account :

Parmi ces systèmes, on trouve une espèce de calcul (*hiçab*) auquel on donne le nom de *hiçab en-nîm*. Il en est question vers la fin du *Kitab es-Sifa* (*Traité de politique*), ouvrage attribué à Aristote. On emploie ce calcul quand deux rois vont se faire la guerre, et que l'on désire savoir lequel sera vainqueur. Voici comment se fait l'opération :

on additionne les valeurs numériques des lettres dont se compose le nom de chaque roi : ce sont des valeurs de convention attribuées aux lettres de l'alphabet : elles vont depuis l'unité jusqu'au mille, et se classent par unités, dizaines, centaines et milliers. L'addition faite, on retranche neuf de chaque somme autant de fois qu'il faut d'avoir deux restes moindres que neuf. On compare ces restes ensemble : si l'un est plus fort que l'autre, et que tous les deux soient des nombres pairs ou des nombres impairs, le roi dont le nom a fourni le reste le plus faible obtiendra la victoire. Si l'un des restes est un nombre pair et l'autre un nombre impair, le roi dont le nom a fourni le reste le plus fort sera le vainqueur. Si les deux restes sont égaux, et qu'ils soient des nombres pairs, le roi qui est attaqué remportera la victoire : si les restes sont égaux et impairs le roi qui attaque triomphera. On trouve dans le même livre deux vers qui se rapportent à cette opération, et qui sont bien connus : les voici—

Dans les pairs et dans les impairs, c'est le moindre nombre qui l'emporte,

Si l'un est pair et l'autre impair, c'est le plus grand qui sera vainqueur.

Celui qui est attaqué aura la victoire, si les deux nombres égaux sont pairs,

S'ils sont impairs, celui qui attaque triomphera.

The numerical values given on p. 243 (*op. cit.*) differ in some respects from those in our text, being those of the Magribi system. But no two MSS. coincide. In Fleischer's Catalogue of Leipzig MSS. p. 337 we find notice of a tract by Yahya ibn al-Batrik, where he uses the 'somma maggiore', 'jamlat kanir', in which  $\aleph = 2$ . The Syriac numerical values correspond with those used in the Eastern Arabic. The 'abjad' system is the Hebrew order for the twenty-two letters followed by six additional letters.

In the Western form the letters are arranged in alphabetical order with the following numerical values :

١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩	٠
ا	ب	ج	د	ه	و	ز	ح	ظ	ع
ن	خ	ذ			ص		ف	ظ	ي
	س	ت			ل		ث		
		غ			ل		ر		
		ق					ش		
		م					ض		
							ك		

Ibn Khaldun (*op. cit.* p. 242) gives the following as the more usual values:

١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩
ا	ب	ج	د	ه	و	ز	ح	ط
ي	ك	ل	م	ن	ص	ع	ف	ض
ق	ر	س	ت	ث	خ	ذ	ظ	غ
ش								

Another system in general use (*op. cit.* p. 244):

١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩
ا	ي	ج	م	ه	ت	غ	خ	ث
ر	س	ذ	د	ف	ح	ش	ع	ض
ب	ق	ل	و		ذ			ظ
ك	ط	ص			ن			

A variant of this gives ح for ش and ع for س.

These systems are called 'ayqash' and 'areb' from the first letters of each row.

Another system given in Fleischer's catalogue of Leipzig Oriental MSS., p. 428:

١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩	٠
ا	ن	ج	د	ه	و	ز	ح	ط	س
ي	ب		م		ل	لا	ك	ص	ش
ع		ق		ذ			ف		خ
		ذ					ر		ظ
		غ					ت		
								ض	

On p. 337 (*op. cit.*) is a reference to another scale where ع = ١, ش = ٢, &c.

Section N (pp. 137-63), *de incantamentis*. Discourse X. In the greater part of the Latin MSS. this section is entirely omitted, and in the Achillini text it is placed after section t (before p. 114 of this edition). The first paragraph, down to line 16, is common to the Eastern and Western texts: from that point on, the Western text proceeds with section Q (pp. 173-5), the Eastern, in all MSS. with this down to p. 162<sup>7</sup>. From this point, one only (B) gives the text translated by Philip, the others describe different talismans, though

the Hermogenes of our text may have been obtained from one of them. The remainder of Discourse X consists of Sections O, *De alchimia*, and P, *De lapidibus et vegetabilibus*, which finishes with the real ending of the *Secretum*. Only a very few MSS. and no printed texts go farther than p. 161<sup>24</sup> (see pp. xxv–xxvi).

The title, found in this and some other MSS., ‘Dictio decima’ is interesting as a remnant of the primitive form of this translation, before it suffered its first recast. It occurs in B.N. 6755, 6756, B.M. Sl. 2413, 12 C. vi, 12 D. iii, 12 E. xv, &c.

Section V (pp. 163–72), *de phisionomia*. Prof. R. Foerster has dealt at such length with this section in his *Scriptores Physiognomonici* (Teubner, 1893), vol. i, pp. clxxviii–clxxxii, vol. ii, pp. 183–222, that little more remains to be said. It has already been pointed out (p. xxi–xxxix) that the Western form is not an abridgement of the Eastern, but an independent growth from a common stem. The Eastern text has been much more influenced by the physiognomy of Razis (*ad Almansorem*, tr. 2) than the Western. There are many more verbal coincidences with Gerard of Cremona’s translation of Razis than with Michael Scot’s treatise already cited, e.g. 167<sup>25</sup> sapientie innuit paucitatem (R. c. 26), 168<sup>26</sup> deterior est omnibus hominibus (omnibus hominibus sunt deteriores, R. c. 28), 169<sup>27</sup> Qui tempora inflata (R. c. 32), but I believe they are only coincidences and that the borrowing took place in the Arabic.

The only quotations I have noted by Albertus Magnus are those of p. 170, ll. 4–7, in the *de animalibus*, i. 2. 26 end, and others.

The story of Hippocrates and Philemon is originally told of Socrates and Zopyrus—for classical references see Foerster, i, p. viii.

Section Q (pp. 173–5), *de lapidibus preciosis*. This section, the remainder of the thirteenth division in the Western eight-book form, was incorporated by Achillini with passages from Discourse X, as previously described (p. xxiv). He either translated them himself, or got them from an early Latin translation, from the Hebrew, as a considerable part of them is not found in the Arabic but was added by some Jewish alchemist, or by Al Harizi himself.

The sections only found in Hebrew are: (1) Sciendum tamen quod scire producere . . . (2) Et facias anulum ex argento . . . (3) Bis ipsum est ex venenis et magnis . . . (4) At sustentamentum omnium . . . (5) Scias etiam quod chimia . . . Most probably (6) Amatistes est piram in Arabico . . . is also an insertion, but W is imperfect at this point (p. 253).

### THE TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC.

The value of this translation from the Arabic text, as we have it to-day is two-fold ; it serves as a translation of the Latin for those readers who find a difficulty in accustoming themselves to it, the corresponding pages of the Latin text being marked on the margin, and it allows us to form an opinion of the competence of thirteenth-century translators from the Arabic. In this case there is no doubt that Philip's translation is very close to his text, allowing for ornamental additions and expansions which are easily recognized. It was originally intended to mark the additions which distinguish the Eastern from the Western forms by a difference in type, but this intention was abandoned, and the student will find it easy to compare the version here given with Dr. Gaster's version of the Hebrew text, which is in substance the same as the Western Arabic, the forms given in the notes as *W* marking the exact Western text.

To make this collection of pseud-Aristotelian letters to Alexander more complete, a letter on the immortality of the soul from the Taegius text (pp. xxiv, xxv) drawn from some unknown source, and an English translation of a letter on Ethics from an Arabic MS. in the British Museum have been added. These with Lippert's translation of the *Peri Basileias* will show the principal Arabic forms which were written in rivalry with the *Secretum Secretorum*.

### THE ANGLO-NORMAN VERSION.

This version must have been made very soon after the introduction of the *Secretum* to the Western world, yet there was time for a compound text to have been made of the *Secretum* and some other treatise on health which has not yet been identified. The part not derived from the *Secretum* begins at l. 1868 and ends at l. 2237. Beyond the correction of a few scribal errors there has been no attempt made to edit the text as it appears in the only manuscript of it known.

*Incipit quidam tractatus brevis et utilis ad declarandum quedam obscure dicta in libro Secreti Secretorum Aristotilis, quem librum edidit Aristotiles ad preces Alexandri Magni in sua senectute; 5 quem tractatum fecit frater Rogerus Bacun de ordine minorum intuitu caritatis ad instructionem quorundam sapientum. Quem tractatum, si sapiens intueatur et bene omnia discuciat, una cum notabilibus que ipsemet frater Rogerus posuit supra textum 10 in multis locis et diversis, inveniet ultima nature secreta ad que homo sive humana invencio in hac vita poterit pervenire, ad que quisunque posset pertingere, vere princeps mundi poterit nominari. Nec desperet quis propter difficultatem, quoniam si 15 naturas rerum cognoverit, scienciam perspective, et astronomiam, ista secreta non poterunt eum latere. Et habet capitula (septem).*

Capitulum primum de causa hujus operis, et de erroribus falsorum mathematicorum quomodo judicant certudinaliter, et dicunt 20 omnia evenire de necessitate.

Capitulum secundum de veris mathematicis quomodo judicant sub condicione supponendo liberum arbitrium non posse cogi set inclinari et excitari per constellaciones, et quomodo, et de necessitate scientis medici pro complexionibus alterandis.

25 Capitulum tertium de dictis et factis falsorum mathematicorum et demonum.

Capitulum quartum de dictis et factis verorum mathematicorum, et que mirabilia possunt facere cum adjutorio artis medicine: quomodo videlicet alterantur complexiones et meliorantur, tam in 30 moribus quam in sapientia: et tangit ultima secreta ad que solus sapiens medicus poterit pervenire.

A note at foot says, ‘*Titulus dicitur a “titan” Grece quod est “sol” Latine, quia sicut sol illuminat mundum, ita titulus illuminat et manifestat librum.*’

Capitulum quintum de veris scienciis similibus in nominibus scienciis magicis, set nichil in intencione set sunt partes philosophie et scientie experimentalis.

Capitulum .6. de quibusdam astronomicis pro multis intelligendis in hoc libro, et maxime in capitulo ultimo secunde partis, 5 et similiter in ultimo capitulo et penultimo tercie partis.

Capitulum .7. de proprietatibus planetarum et signorum de quibus loquitur Aristotiles in hoc libro, et de sex modis alteracionis 1 b. rerum inferiorum in hoc mundo tam animatarum | quam inanimatarum per virtutem planetarum et est capitulo ultimum. 10

**P**ropter multa in hoc libro contenta (qui liber dicitur Secretum Secretorum Aristotilis sive liber de Regino Principum Regum et Dominorum), considerandum est quod translator hujus libri conveniens potuit transtulisse multa et apercius. 15

Nam ‘Mancia’ non est verbum philosophicum, nec ‘Geomancia’, nec ‘Celimancia’, nec ‘Incantacio’, nec ‘Carmen’, nec bene sonant hec et hujusmodi secundum rationem fidei. Res tamen philosophice quas Aristotiles intellexit habent veritatem philosophie, unde translatores Aristotilis nescientes perfecte potestatem 20 scienciarum, nec scientes sufficienter linguam Grecam, nec vocabula Latina scienciarum propria, multum defecerunt, transferendo in multo, eciā magis defecerunt qui sapienciam Aristotilis primo translata de Greco in Arabicum, postea in Latinum ex Arabico, transtulerunt, sicut iste translator et plures alii defecerunt. Propter 25 quod aliqua de hoc libro volo quibusdam exposicionibus illustrare.

‘Mancia’ vero Grece est ‘divinacio’ Latine, qua magici ac matematici utuntur secundum quod hec nomina mathematica et matematicus derivantur a ‘matesi’ media corepta, que ‘matesis’ est ‘magica’ inponens necessitatem rebus contingentibus et libero 30 arbitrio. Contra quam et contra matematicos ab ea dictos egregie beati Augustinus et Gregorius in *Omeliis de Epiphania* disputant et alibi, necnon philosophi omnes de dignitate philosophie prediti, ut Aristotiles, Avicenna, Ptolomeus, et omnes alii veraciter philosophantes. 35

Set tamen hii veri judicatores dicuntur mathematici a ‘mathesi’ media producta que etiam per aspiracionem scribitur. Hec ‘mathesis’ est ‘doctrina’ Latine, vel disciplina, sicut Cassiodorus docet in libro *de Sciencis Secularibus*.

32 Augustinus] de diversis questionibus, xlvi. 34 Ptolomeus] tpolomeus .  
MS. 39 Migne, 71. 1151.

Et hec mathematica continet quatuor sciencias, scilicet, Geometriam, Arsmetricam, Musicam, Astrologiam | sub qua Astrologia, Astronomia judicaria et operativa vulgari nomine continetur. De quibus scienciis Cassiodorus ibidem subjungit, dicens : ‘Has 5 sciencias quatuor dum solicita mente revolvimus ; sensum acuunt, limumque ignorancie detergunt, et ad illam spectivam contemplacionem, Domino largiente, perducunt’ : quas merito sancti patres legendas persuadent, quia ex magna parte per eas appetitus a carnalibus rebus abstrahitur et faciunt desiderare que solo, Domino 10 largiente, corde possumus aspicere.

Et dicit quod ideo hec mathematica dicitur doctrinalis vel disciplinalis, quia omnes alie sciencie per hanc docentur et sine illa non possunt doceri. Quod etiam Boitus in prologo *Arithmetice* edocet evidenter. Set glomerelli nescientes Grecum, corumpunt 15 omnia vocabula Greca, ex quibus major pars lingue Latine componitur, unde ex magna sua ignorancia vulgaverunt hos versus falsos :

Scire facit matesis, set divinare mathesis

Philosophi matesim, magici dixerunt mathesim.

Et errant in sensu et scriptura, ut patet ex dictis secundum 20 Grecam veritatem, nam ‘matesis’ media corepta et sine aspiracione est divinacio sive ars divinandi qua Manto divinatrix adinvenit, ut per Virgilium decimo libro *Eneydis* et per Servium comentatorem ejus patet. Set ‘mathesis’, media producta et aspirata in secunda sillaba, sicut patet ex Grecis libris et Greca 25 gramatica, est disciplina.

Matematici igitur qui sunt falsarii omnia dixerunt evenire de necessitate et per fatum, et non solum in naturalibus set in voluntariis. Unde posuerunt quod infans natus in constellacione tali vel tali erit de necessitate talis vel talis, et presumunt per hoc 30 judicare de omnibus, futuris et presentibus, occultis et preteritis, certitudinaliter.

#### *Capitulum secundum de veris mathematicis.*

**S**Et veri mathematici hec tria non | presumunt, quia nec de 35 necessitate judicant aliquid fore vel esse vel fuisse in istis inferioribus contingentibus et voluntariis, nec de omnibus judicia sua ponunt, set de aliquibus, nec absolute certitudinaliter

<sup>4</sup> Cassiodorus] Migne 71. 1204.

<sup>13</sup> Boitus] Inst. Arith. i. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Eberhardi Graecismus (Ed. Wrobel), x. 211.      <sup>22</sup> Virgil] Aen. x. 199.

docent unam partem contradiccionis, ut quod iste infans erit bonus aut malus, set quod erit bonus vel episcopus si Deus voluerit, nam semper in judiciis suis adducunt in fine 'si Deus voluerit'. Unde cum prevident possibilitatem rei alicujus contingentis in naturalibus vel in voluntariis, non dicunt quod de 5 necessitate continget, set quod potest contingere, et continget quantum est de vi causarum suarum, et quod erit nisi Deus mutet ordinacionem nature vel voluntatis.

Circa enim voluntaria, ut in actibus humanis, mathematici veri supponunt libertatem arbitrii, ut in nullo cogatur ad bonum vel 10 malum, nec ad honores nec dedecora, nec ad prospera nec adversa, nec ad sciencialia nec ad officia ecclesiastica nec secularia, que omnia de quolibet falsi mathematici affirmant.

Set veri mathematici considerant situs et loca planetarum, et 15 quas fortitudines habent in signis diversis, et quos respectus habent adinvicem et ad stellas fixas, et sic veraciter possunt judicare de alteracionibus corporum inferiorum in terra et aqua et aere, secundum possibilitatem, ut dictum est; et quod una pars contradiccionis eveniet, set non de necessitate. Et licet secundum 20 possibilitatem nature eveniet, tamen Deus potest mutare ex sua bonitate, et meritis sanctorum et meritis ecclesie et cuiuslibet boni Christiani, si ad hoc sufficient sua merita. Unde una vetula paupercula suis precibus et meritis, bonitate Dei favente, potest mutare ordinem nature, sicut Beata Seolastica, invito Sancto Benedicto, oravit Deum, et facta est tempestas valida ne beatus 25 Benedictus recederet ab ea. Et sic de aliis miraculis infinitis que fiunt supra naturam et contra eam, bonitate Dei et angelorum et sanctorum et meritis ecclesie et bonorum.

Et sicut hec alteracio naturalis est in corporibus inanimatis, sic in corporibus animatorum et hominum.

Continue enim alterantur corpora humana secundum diversas constellaciones omni hora, et excitantur anime ad acciones diversas 30. et mores et sciencialia et alia | officia. Set anime non coguntur set feruntur gratis in ea ad que complexio corporis excitat et inclinat, sicut non considerata aliqua constellacione homo colericus excita- 35 tur ad iram, sanguineus ad pacem, fleumaticus ad quietem et ocium, melancolicus ad tristiciam et solitudinem. Set tamen in hiis non cogitur liberum arbitrium set inclinatur vehementer, ut tamen

gratis velit ea ad que per complexionem corporis inclinatur. Sicut homo per amicos et socios et res delectabiles et tristabiles presentes multa facit, excitatus per hec, que alias non faceret, sic constellacio presens alterat complexionem corporis, ad quam 5 alteracionem sequitur excitacio mentis, licet non cogatur in aliquo. Et causa hujus est quia unum per naturam et essenciam et una persona fit ex corpore et anima, et ideo anima passionibus corporis facile excitatur, et e converso.

Nam, testante Avicenna .8. *de Animalibus* et alibi, calor in corpore 10 et frigus et alie passiones varie fuent pluries ex sola cogitatione et affectione anime, sicut quilibet in se et in aliis experitur. Set hec excitacio anime per complexionem excitatam ex stellis maxime consideranda esset a regibus et aliis qui presunt mundo et ecclesie. Nam si mathematicus verus sciat etatem alicujus regis, et annum 15 et diem et horam conceptus et nativitatis, potest certitudinaliter judicare de complexione ejus radicali, et ex ea elicere aptitudines ejus et disposiciones naturales ad bona et mala. Nam omnes homines secuntur complexiones suas naturaliter, ut videmus, sicut expositum est, licet non cogatur liberum arbitrium, set tamen 20 fortiter et vehementer inclinatur. Rex igitur quilibet sequitur naturaliter complexionem suam. Et si est multum colericus, inclinabitur ad superbiam et iram et inprudenciam et discordias et bellum et turbaciones aliorum. Et quia ad voluntatem suam flectuntur consiliarii et amici ejus, flectetur et regnum ad ejus 25 voluntatem, et sic turbabit regna vicinia et etiam regnum proprium, querens occasiones contra multos sibi subjectos.

Et si sit sanguineus, erit humilis et mansuetus et prudens et pacificus, amans justiciam et pacem et societatem et amiciciam et liberalitatem. Et sic per alias complexiones excitabitur rex ad 30 alia. Et similiter omnes qui presunt, sive in mundanis sive in ecclesiasticis, sequntur suas complexiones sive ad bona sive ad mala, nisi Deus mutaverit | ordinem nature et voluntatis. Si 3 b. tamen haberent bona consilia per sapientes medicos scientes astronomiam, possent eorum complexiones male alterari in melius, 35 et sic inclinarentur ad clemenciam, pacem et justiciam, et ad concordiam et ad amiciciam et ad omne bonum.

*Capitulum tertium de dictis et factis falsorum mathematicorum et demonum*

**H**ec de judiciis mathematicorum verorum et falsorum possunt intelligi, set nunc considerandum est de eorum dictis et factis per que fiunt multa. Nam utrique possunt facere multos effectus utiles, precipue humano corpori, et pro prosperis promovendis et repellendis adversis et pro innumerabilibus utilitatibus procurandis et malis excludendis. Set mathematici falsi credunt quod omnia que faciunt contingunt de necessitate, verus mathematicus nullam necessitatem ponit. Item falsi mathematici propter incredulitatem suam et errorem circa ea que fieri possunt in constellacionibus debitibus cadunt, Dei judicio, in alias errores infinitos, et desiderant adjutoria demonum, et faciunt carmina et karakteres et sacrificia secundum quod quidam libri eorum pessimimi docent, quorum aliquos demones fecerunt, et tradiderunt pessimis hominibus, et quorum aliquos ipsi mathematici fecerunt instinctu et instruccione demonum, et per revelationem eorum. Quorum etiam aliquos multa pessimii homines finxerunt propria malicia, et illis libris isti pessimii mathematici inponunt titulos autenticos ut *liber Ade*, et *liber Moysi*, et *libri Salomonis*, et *libri Aristotilis*, et *Hermetis*, et aliorum sapientum, cum tamen ipsimet homines pessimii fingunt hec, et seducunt homines, non solum juvenes set etiam senes et viros famosos, sicut in nostris temporibus experti sumus. Et vidimus maximos viros occupatos in hiis, non solum clericos et ecclesiasticos viros, set principes aliquantulum literatos, et alias similiter magnos viros.

Et hiis mathematicis in malicia sua completis apparent demones sensibiliter in forma humana et aliis formis variis, et dicunt et faciunt multa eis mirabilia, secundum quod Deus permittit. Ali quando apparent ymaginarie, ut in ungue pueri virginis carminati, et in pelvibus et ensibus, et in spatula arietis, | secundum modum eorum consecratis, et in ceteris rebus politis, et demones ostendunt eis omnia que petunt, secundum quod Deus permittit.

Unde pueri sic insipientes res politas vident ymaginarie res furtive acceptas, et ad que loca deportate sunt, et que persone asportaverunt, et sic de aliis multis, et demones apparentes omnia hec illis prius ostendunt.

Set ulterius procedit demencia mathematicorum falsorum sine apparitione demonum, nec est ars nec natura, et hec sunt purissime

magica. Tamen fiunt multa mirabilia, utilia temporaliter quibusdam et nociva aliis, set hec fiunt per demones invisibiliter operantes et revelantes, permittente Deo sicut David dicit de revelatione demonum hominibus nephantibus ‘misit in eos iram indignacionis sue, inmissiones per angelos malos’.

Sic geomantici faciunt karakteres et figurae in pulvere, et credunt se per artem scire futura et presentia occulta et preterita, et sedent in partibus transmarinis in foro et aliis locis publicis, et veniunt ad eos viri et mulieres omnes pro negotiis occultis et futuris querendis. Et fingunt se operari per virtutem stellarum, et ideo faciunt figurae suas ad similitudinem stellarum, et utuntur vocabulis astronomicis, et multi viri famosi in studio infecti sunt nostris temporibus in hiis. Et similiter alie magice artes, ut ydromancia que fit in aqua, quia ‘ydor’ Grece est ‘aqua’ Latine, et aerimancia in aere, et pyromancia in igne sunt erronee, et multe alie, de quibus non est dicendum ad presens, set pro certo demones occultis revelationibus illudunt eis.

Et hujusmodi illusiones fiunt, aut propter infidelitatem talia querencium a magicis, aut propter infidelitatem magicorum, aut propter peccata alia utrorumque gravia quibus implicantur, aut certe mala et nociva multis fiunt per magicos propter peccata illorum hominum quibus accidunt talia nociva. Et hec omnia patent per infinita exempla que contigerunt nostris temporibus, ut in maleficiatis et aliis innumerabilibus, de quibus non possum scribere ad hoc tempus. Et ab ipsis karecteribus et carminibus et figuris et operibus magicorum ultimis descendunt errores vetularum sortilegarum et virorum similiter. Nam edocti fuerunt primitus a magis, et matres docent filias, et patres docent filios, <sup>4 b.</sup> et sic crevit malicia infinita per universum mundum usque nunc, et crescat habundantius usque in diem Antichristi. Et non solum malicia ultima que communis est vetulis et viris sortilegis et mathematicis, set priores malicie omnes superius enumerate. Et sic precurrent Antichristum multi nephandi homines qui disponent multos ad errores pessimos Antichristi, quamvis et omnis falsa doctrina sive in philosophia que jam incepta est a quindecim annis, sive falsitas studii fidei per hereticos, efficacius disponunt ad tempora Antichristi, et ipse tunc instruendus et nutriendus per demones replebitur omni malicia mathematicorum magicorum.

<sup>3</sup> David] Ps. 77. 49.

falsorum et falso philosophancium et hereticorum, et pervertet ad tempus omne verum et bonum.

*Capitulum quartum de dictis et factis verorum mathematicorum.*

**S**Et mathematici veri elongantur penitus ab hiis malis omnibus, et servant omnino veritatem philosophie et fidei, et pro debitis 5 constellacionibus sciunt eligere tempora in quibus per virtutes planetarum et stellarum fixarum possunt, Dei dispositione, multa fieri per naturam et per artem juvantem naturam, et utuntur dictis et factis certis, set non carminibus magicis nec vetularum set secundum graciam datam philosophis, circa cultum divinum 10 statuerunt oraciones et sacrificia, secundum quod Aristotiles tangit inferius in parte prima capitulo ultimo.

Nam etsi non debeamus asserere quod philosophi habuerunt graciam gratum facientem, quia nescimus secundum hoc quid fecerit eis Deus, tamen scimus quod habuerunt magnam graciam 15 gratis datam, scilicet, sapientie magnalia et mirabiles virtutes quas utinam nos omnes Christiani haberemus. Philosophi enim magni, ut Plato, Aristotiles, et Avicenna, et hujusmodi, non coluerunt ydola set despexerunt ea, et Deum verum more suo coluerunt secundum graciam eis datam : et ideo habuerunt sacrificia et 20 oraciones sine lege Moysi et Christiana, sicut antiqui patres ab Adam usque ad legem datam Moysi. Unde Aristotiles in lege sua propter cultum Trinitatis habuit oraciones tres et sacrificia tria, sicut docet Averoys in principio *Celi et Mundi*.

Et astronomi Christiani debent pia devocione uti oracionibus 25 ad Deum et sanctos, et eos invocare in omnibus operibus suis in auxilium, et non demones sicut magici, quibus oracionibus sancti utriusque Testamenti usi sunt, et addunt karakteres et figuras 5 a. crucis et | Crucifixi, et Beate Virginis, et Beati Dionisii qui fuit optimus astronomus et aliorum ad quos operans habet devocationem, 30 et debent et possunt quedam opera facere conveniencia, ut facilius et melius accident que intendat. Ut medicus peritus in astronomia ponit medicinalia sua sub divo quando stelle utilium operacionum et conveniencium sunt super orizonta, hoc est, super habitacionem nostram vel suam, sive super terram nostre habitationis, et cavit a nocivis stellis. Et similiter facit de cibis et potibus, si est sapiens in astronomia. Eciam ipsas personas

11 Aristotiles] see p. 61.

24 Averoys] lib. i. c. 3.

infirmas novit aptare ad receptionem radiorum stellarum convenientium, et non solum circa infirmos scit hec disponere set insanis. Et scit per has vias rectificare et meliorare complexiones eorum ut inclinentur ad bona et utilia sibi et aliis, tam in sapiencia quam in moralibus, sicut Arthephius philosophus dispositus filium regis quem docuit, et miro modo melioravit complexionem suam ad bonitatem et sapienciam. Et hec maxime debent fieri in regibus et filiis eorum et in aliis principibus, et eciam prelatis et omnibus viris magnificis, non solum propter eorum utilitates, set propter utilitates subditorum ecclesie et tocius mundi.

Majora autem hiis possunt fieri circa statum reipublice et regnorum pro prosperis et contra adversa, de quibus loquitur Aristotiles in hoc libro, set occulte. Quia dicit: ille est fractor sigilli celestis, et multa mala consequuntur eum qui revelat secreta indignis.

*Capitulum quintum de veris scienciis similibus in nominibus quatuor predictis, set nichil in intencione vel re, set sunt partes philosophie et sciencie experimentalis.*

**S**ciendum quod geomancia predicta est magica, et aerimancia quedam, et ydromancia quedam, et piromancia quedam, de quibus sunt libri magicorum. Set alie horum nominum, set non rerum neque intencionis, sunt partes philosophie et sciencie experimentalis. Nam secundum Ptholomeum in libro *de Disposizione Sphere* qui alio nomine vocatur *Introductorius in Almagesti*, duplex est pars philosophie de futuris cognoscendis secundum possibilitatem, ut dictum est. Una est Astronomia naturalis, quia de rebus naturalibus in hoc mundo inferiori judicat, ut dictum est, scilicet medio modo inter necessarium et impossibile, sicut Ptolomeus | docet in *Centilogio* et in *Quadripartito*, ita quod 5 b. nullam necessitatem imponunt astronomi libero arbitrio, neque rebus contingentibus, ut prius expositum est.

Set est alia sciencia que considerat futuras alteraciones hujus mundi inferioris, que vocatur Sciencia Experimentalis a Ptolomeo in libro predicto, super quam, ut ait Ptolomeus, Aristotiles nobilis

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13 dicit] p. 41.

17 intencione] intenciore MS.

fundatus est, et multa turba dominorum judiciorum astronomie, quam Aratus philosophus multum ampliavit. Et hec sciencia considerat ea que apparent in terra per signa in animalibus et ceteris terrestribus et aqueis, et per ea que apparent in aere, et per ea que apparent in igne, scilicet, in spera ignis, per que philo- 5 sophi judicant de pluviis et ventis et siccitate et calore et frigore et humore et pestilencia et putrefacione aeris et animalium terrestrium et aqueorum et hominum et omnium vivencium. Et non solum de hiis set de multis aliis, atque eciam multum bene docent poete de hiis, ut Virgilius primo *Georgicorum*, et Servius ejus 10 commentator et alibi, atque Lucanus primo et sexto libro precipue, et alii multi. Avicenna vero narrat libro *Animalium* quod quidam homo apud Constantinopolim judicavit de mutacione ventorum per hericum qui certas in se fecit mutaciones ante varietatem ventorum. Delphini in mari contra tempestatem recedunt de 15 fundo maris ad superficiem, et sic de variis proprietatibus animalium, et tam in mari quam in terra. Et fragor nemorum et tumor marium et hujusmodi sunt certa signa mutacionis aeris et rerum inferiorum.

Similiter ea que apparent in aere, ut impressiones inflammatae 20 seu vapores inflammati ut Assub ascendens et descendens, que vulgus estimant stellas cadentes et descendentes, et sunt vapores inflammati que significant siccitatem rerum inferiorum, sicut patet ex fine *Centilogii* Ptolomei. Et multa consimilia luminosa et inflammati apparent in diversis figuris de quibus Aristotiles loquitur 25 primo *Meteororum*, ut sunt dracones ardentes et serpentes et columpne et piramides et multa alia. Eciam yris et halo sive Allileti, qui est circulus coloratus circa solem et lunam et stellas, et virga perpendicularis colorata, multa significant in alteracionibus 6 a. aeris. | Et comete, que vocantur stelle comate, habundancius 30 significant, sicut vidimus nostri temporis apparente cometa magno, et non solum fuerunt turbaciones aeris set hominum et omnium regionum nobis notarum, qui apparuit Anno Domini 1264. In illo anno et in sequentibus fuerunt maxime turbaciones mundi, ita quod quantitas et dispersio radiorum suorum fuit ita horribilis 35 quod terruit omnes homines supra modum. Et hii comete non solum fiunt ex vapore inflammati set sublimato per virtutem aliquius planetae vel stelle fixe, quarum motum sequntur sicut

ferrum sequitur motum adamantis. Et hii comete fiunt in spera ignis supra aerem, sicut docet Algazel in *Naturalibus*.

Multa etiam majora sunt hiis significancia alteraciones mundi, de quibus sancti et historiographi sicut et philosophi late scribunt, 5 quod ut aliquando duo soles et alias tres soles simul visi sunt, et due aut tres lune vise sunt simul. Et hec sunt vapores sperici inflammati ex radio solis ac lune, nec sunt de genere cometarum. Et multa sunt consimilia, et a longe mirabiliora accidentunt in istis et inflammatis, sicut Titus Livius, auctor maximus historie mundi, et 10 sanctus Horosius ad beatum Augustinum, et ipse Augustinus, et multi alii auctores certissimi. Quibus mirabilibus accidentibus totus mundus est alteratus, sicut ipsi auctores certissimi describunt.

Item secundum eosdem lac aliquando pluit de celo vel aere, et sanguis et lana et metalla et lapides et viva animalia ut pisces 15 et salamandra et alia reptilia et rane et buffones et carnes : et rivus olei et sanguinis orti sunt de terra et longe mirabiliora quam oporteat nunc dici, sicut auctores predicti docent et alii certissimi, quibus apparentibus facta est magna alteracio mundi. Similiter eclipses solis et lune sunt in hac consideracione, et aliorum 20 planetarum. Quia duplex est consideracio eclipsis ; aut quantum ad situm solis et lune et stellarum in signis, et sic pertinet consideracio eclipsis astronomis ; aut quantum ad obscuritatem et impedimentum lucis secundum quod subtrahitur beneficium lucis a mundo inferiori, et sic pertinet eclipsium consideracio 25 ad hanc scienciam experimentalem. Et tunc est ineffabilis 6 b. alteracio in omnibus, et maxime quando fit eclipsis universalis, quando scilicet totum corpus solis vel lune eclipsatur, et maxime quando totus sol eclipsatur. Tunc nox est pro die, et apparent stelle in celo, et aves territi volant huc et ibi, et bruta 30 torrentur et homines maxime in corde et anima, sicut ista etate expertum est ; et cicius erit talis eclipsis quam qui vellent sapientes in hac sciencia. Omnia hec et consimilia sunt effectus planetarum et stellarum, et vocantur a Ptolomeo et aliis ‘secunda stellarum’, quia effectus est in secundo loco respectu sue cause : de quibus 35 dicit Ptolomeus in *Centilogio* quod anima sapiens certius judicabit per secunda stellarum quam per stellas. Et ideo dicit in libro *de Disposizione Spere* quod Aristotiles nobilis et astronomi plus fundarunt se super hanc scienciam quam super astronomiam.

<sup>2</sup> Algazel] lib. ii. c. 4. Philosophia (ed. 1506).

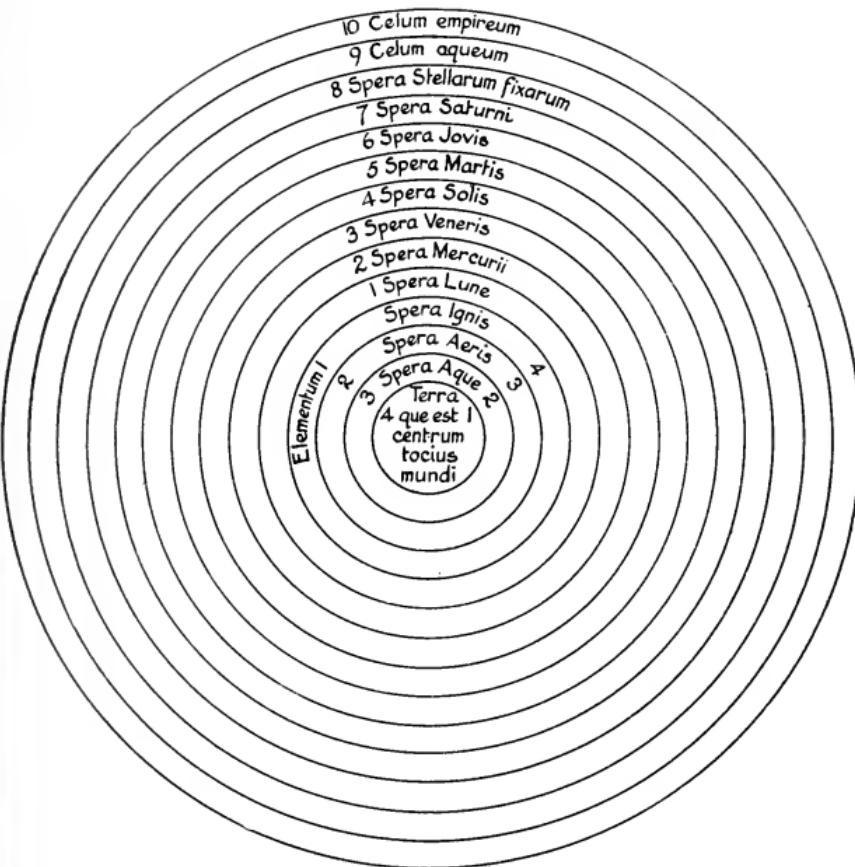
Cum igitur ‘ge’ Grece sit ‘terra’ Latine, et ‘mancia’ ‘divinacio’, hoc est, judicium de futuris, una erit geomancia magica de qua dictum fuit superius, et alia castigato nomine est pars philosophie que, scilicet, considerat signa in animalibus et ceteris rebus terrestribus super futura, nec habet aliquid falsitatis si bene intelligatur. Similiter ‘ydon’ Grece est ‘aqua’ Latine et ‘mancia’ ‘divinacio’ sive judicium, ut honestiori utamur vocabulo, et hec, ut dictum est, magica est secundum quod magici utuntur, set alia est pars philosophie que considerat signa futurarum in aqua et rebus aqueis, sive piscibus sive aliis. ‘Aer’ quidem Grecum est, 10 unde aerimancia que duplex est, una magica alia naturalis que considerat predicta signa in aere. Similiter ‘pir’ est ‘ignis’, unde piromancia, et una consideratur a magicis, et alia est naturalis et pars philosophie que considerat signa in spera ignis, ut sunt comete et alia cum quibus sociantur eclipsis, quia nomina posita 15 sunt ab antiquis ante philosophos, et antiqui estimabant celum esse igne nature propter stellas que lucent ut ignis. Unde primum et supremum celum vocatur empireum.

De istis scienciis naturalibus que vocari possunt inproprae geomancia, ydromancia, aerimancia, piromancia, que sunt vere 20 partes philosophie, intendit Aristotiles in hoc libro, set translator non habuit in Latino nomina propria istis scienciis, ideo accepit nomina scienciarum magicarum que sunt similes aliquibus veris scienciis.

*Capitulum sextum de quibusdam astronomicis pro multis in- 25 telligendis in hoc libro et maxime in capitulo ultimo secunde partis, et similiter in ultimo capitulo tercie partis et penultimo. |*

7 a. **P**ropter quedam difficultia in hoc libro de astronomicis, et maxime propter capitulum ultimum secunde partis et ultimum et penultimum tercie partis, oportet nos scire 30 quod totus mundus est spericus quantum ad convexitatem suarum parcum preter terram. Set terra naturaliter est sperica, tam in convexitate quam in concavitate, quia jacet in medio mundi et jacet in concavitate spere aque naturaliter tota, sicud fuit in principio mundi et erit in fine. Set propter habitacionem hominum 35 subtrahitur magna pars aque, que clauditur in visceribus terre sive infra concavitatem terre usque ad finem mundi, ita quod

secundum Esdram, quarto libro, sex partes terre sunt libere ab aqua, et septima cooperitur aquis. Et huic optime concordat Aristotiles in fine secundi libri *Celi et Mundi*. Convexitas aque sperica jacet in concavitate aeris, et convexitas aeris in concavitate ignis, et convexitas ignis in concavitate orbis vel spere Lune. Et convexitas spere Lune jacet in concavitate orbis seu spere Mer-



curii, et convexitas spere Mercurii in concavitate spere Veneris, et convexitas spere Veneris jacet in concavitate speris Solis, et convexitas spere Solis in concavitate speris Martis, et convexitas spere Martis in concavitate spere Jovis. Et convexitas spere Jovis jacet in concavitate spere Saturni, et convexitas spere Saturni in concavitate spere stellarum fixarum in corpore magno, in quo

<sup>1</sup> Esdram] <sup>2</sup> Esdr. vi. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotiles] l. ii. c. 79.

sunt innumerabiles stelle parve secundum sensum, qui vocantur fixe. Et convexitas hujus celi, scilicet, stellarum fixarum, jacet in concavitate celi aquei, et convexitas ejus celi aquei jacet in concavitate celi empirei, quod est supremum celum. Et sic  
 7 b. quodlibet | istorum corporum continet aliud sicut partes cepe 5 continent se mutuo. Et quanto exterius est corpus tanto est majus sicut videmus in figura, ex quo patet quod decem sunt celi et quatuor elementa. Nam celi sunt, ut celum Lune, celum Mercurii, celum Veneris, celum Solis, celum Martis, celum Jovis, celum Saturni, celum stellarum fixarum, celum aqueum, et celum 10 empireum. Septem igitur celi sunt stellarum que vocantur planete—‘planes’ Grece est ‘error’ Latine—errant enim, hoc est moventur, nunc ad septentrionem nunc ad meridiem, et mutant figuram sue distancie. Stelle vero in celo octavo dicuntur fixe, quia figura distancie earum est uniformis, ut si tres stelle distent 15 per latera trianguli semper sunt in eadem figura et distanca fixa. Set planete non servant hanc fixionem distancie eorum abinvicem, quia aliquando sunt simul, aliquando separantur. Motus enim stellarum fixarum aliquando est versus meridiem aliquando versus septentrionem.

Elementa vero sunt quatuor, ut spera terre, spera aque, spera aeris, spera ignis. Et spera ignis revolvitur per revolutionem spere Lune, et spera aeris minus revolvitur et spera aque adhuc minus, set spera terre non, quia est centrum tocius spere mundi immobile, circa quod omnia alia revolvuntur.

Set ad motus celorum intelligendos, oportet nos ymaginari circulos aliquos, et duo sunt principales, scilicet equinoctialis, qui dividit totum mundum in duas partes eaeles, et habitantes in terra sub illo circulo habent semper equinoccium, et ideo homines sunt ibi temperatissime complexionis et optime. Et hic circulus 30 imaginandus est in celo octavo et nono, scilicet, in celo aquo, et una medietas tendit vel declinat ad septentrionem, alia ad meridiem, et vocatur zodiacus, quia ‘zoe’ Grece est ‘animal’ Latine, et ‘zons, hujus zontis’, est ‘vivens’. Dicitur ergo zodiacus circulus quidam in celo stellato, eo quod stelle habent in eo figuram hominis 35 et animalium vivencium. Unde prima pars hujus circuli vocatur  
 8 a. Aries, quia stelle | congregantur in modum arietis sive in dispositione arietis. Et secunda pars Taurus, quia ibi est dispositio stellarum in forma tauri. Et tercia pars vocatur Gemini, quia ibi

est disposicio stellarum in forma duorum juvenum gemellorum. Et sic de omnibus aliis partibus zodiaci, que sunt duodecim in universo, et vocantur signa quia per figuras suas significant animalia et homines.

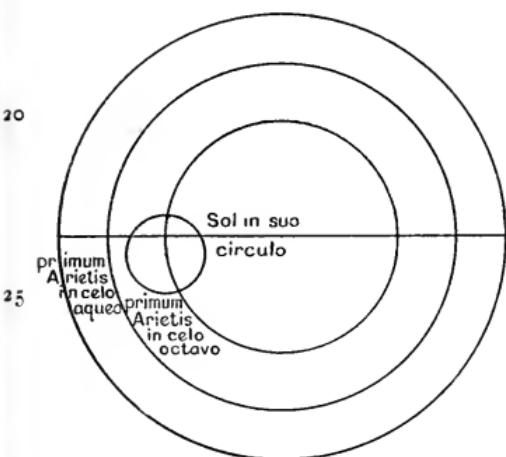
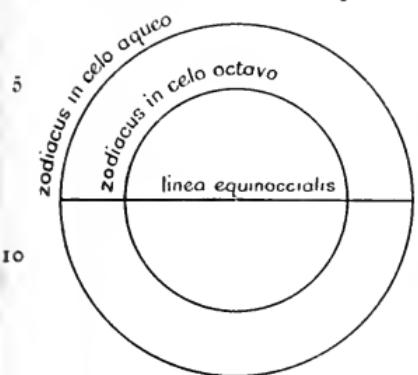
Et quodlibet signum habet .30. partes que vocantur gradus, et ideo in toto zodiaco sunt trescenti sexaginta, quia duodecies .30. fuent trescenti sexaginta. Et quilibet gradus dividitur in .60. partes que dicuntur minuta, et quodlibet minutum dividitur in .60. partes que

vocantur secunda, et quodlibet secundum in .60. partes que vocantur tercia. Et sic ulterius, quantum volumus in considerationibus astronomie, per quarta, quinta, sexta, et ultra.

Et iste zodiacus, qui est circulus in celo octavo, dicitur zodiacus mobilis, quia celum stellatum in quo ymaginamur hunc circulum movere, set sicut principalis circulus equinoctialis erit in celo nono ymaginatus preter illum qui est in celo octavo, sic zodiacus principalis est in celo nono et habet .12. signa et trescentos sexaginta gradus, quia quod-

libet de .12. signis habet .30. gradus. Et hic zodiacus celi noni dicitur immobilis et equinoctialis ejus, dicitur equinoctialis immobilis, quia celum aqueum non movetur.

Sol igitur currit in medio zodiaci utriusque in quodam circulo qui vocatur linea ecliptica, et non declinat ab ea, set ali planete declinant sepe et aliquando sunt sub illa. Et stellatum celum movetur sub gradibus zodiaci celi noni, i.e. aquei, set non nisi uno gradu in centum annis. Cum ille tamen zodiacus celi aquei habet trescentos sexaginta gradus sicut omnis circulus vel spera in



celis imaginatus, nec potest perfici motus iste nisi in triginta sex milibus annorum, et ideo videtur quod nunquam perficietur, quia non creditur quod tantum erit a principio mundi usque in finem, 8 b. set longe | minus. Celum vero Saturni grossa computacione perficit motum suum in utroque zodiaco in .30. annis; Jupiter 5 in duodecim annis; Mars in duobus; Sol in anno; Venus et Mercurius fere sicut Sol; Luna per mensem lunarem que continet 27 dies et horas 8. Et cum quolibet die naturali moventur in circuitu terre, sicut videmus, ab ortu ad ortum, et hic motus non contradicit priori motui, immo unus motus sunt. Quia dum 10 pertransit Sol unum gradum fere in die naturali in zodiaco fertur in circuitu terre, et in sequenti die perficit gradum illum, et intrat alium gradum fere usque in finem per revolucionem suam circa terram, et ideo unus et idem motus sunt, licet diversos habent respectus et nomina.

Nam quando Sol est in capite Libre immobilis in celo aqueo in ortu, fertur super terram in die usque ad occasum, et in nocte sub terra usque ad ortum, set non reddit ad capud Libre unde incepit set declinat fere usque ad finem Libre, quia in motu suo ab ortu usque ad ortum non facit circulum verum set speram; 20 quia circulus terminatur ad illud punctum a quo incepit, set spera incipit ab uno puncto et terminatur in alio. Ut si Sol et capud Libre in celo octavo sint simul sub capite Libre in celo aqueo in ortu, capud Libre in celo octavo revolvitur ciecius quam Sol, et ideo non venit Sol ad ortum secundo die ita cito sicut 25 capud Libre mobilis, et Sol relinquitur retro, scilicet, in fine primi gradus Libre mobilis. Et sic est omni die anni per singula signa. Et Sol movetur motu proprio ab oriente in circuitu terre et non per raptum octave spere, licet imperiti sint hic decepti.

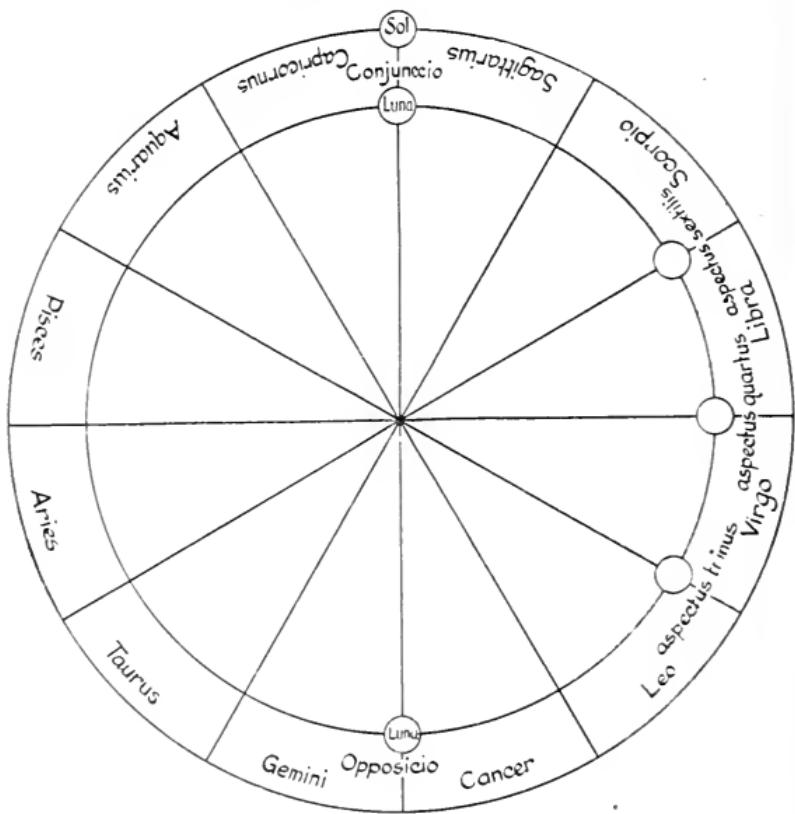
16 immobilis] yimaginabilis MS.

*Capitulum septimum de proprietatibus planetarum et signorum de quibus loquitur Aristotiles in hoc libro, et de sex modis alteracionis rerum inferiorum in hoc mundo tam animatarum quam inanimatarum per virtutem planetarum: et primo de alteracione que fit secundum naturam planetarum.*

**N**otanda sunt quedam nunc, sive addenda, de proprietatibus planetarum et signorum, sine quorum noticia non possunt magnalia intelligi que scribit. De Luna est sciendum quod Luna est frigida et humida virtute et effectu in istis rebus inferioribus, quia facit humorem et frigus in eis. Mercurius eciam est magis indifferens ad calidum et siccum, frigidum et humidum quam temperatus vel distemperatus, quia recipit vel respicit ex coniunctione aliorum planetarum, et ex signis bonas vel malas disposiciones. | Venus est calida et humida, magis tamen humida 9 a. quam calida humiditate aerea. Sol est calidus et temperatus in humore, set ejus calor non est corruptus vel corruptus ut igneus, set generatus et similis calori anime, vel calori in anima, qui est calor naturalis in homine, et similiter ejus temperatio in humore et siccitate est ineffabilis utilitatis mundo inferiori. 15 Mars est superflue calidus vel superflue caliditatis et siccitatis, et ideo nocivus multum nisi ejus malicia temperetur bonitate signi vel signorum, vel per coniunctionem cum bonis planetis aut aspectu bono illorum. Jupiter est calidus et humidus humiditate aerea et humore aereo plus quam Venus, et est salus mundi post 20 Solem. Nam tante bonitatis est quod cum Luna conjungatur ei in eodem signo, et aliquis recipiat medicinam laxativam, destruitur effectus medicine, quia medicina laxativa omnis preter reubarbarum est venenosa, et ideo virtus Jovis destruit ejus effectum cum in receptione medicine Jupiter conjungitur Lune. Saturnus 25 est pessimus et venenosus, quia est frigidus et siccus et causa mortis, et tamen ipse est utilis mundo, sicut scamonea que est venenosa est utilis medicine, quia acuit medicinam ut faciat operacionem suam. Quia per bonitatem aliorum planetarum et stellarum fixarum mundus efflueret et, ut ita dicam, lasciviret et 30 lederetur superfluitate bonitatis, nisi temperaretur per maliciam Saturni et Martis, sicut bona hominis complexio nutrita a superfluis delectacionibus deflueret in lesionem et corrupcionem. Stelle vero fixe aliisque sunt de natura Lune, aliisque Mercurii, aliisque Veneris, aliisque Solis, aliisque Martis, aliisque Saturni.

*De secundo modo alteracionis mundi per aspectus planetarum.*

**B**onitas et malicia planetarum sive qualitates dicte earum, augmentantur vel remittuntur vel temperantur per eorum aspectum vel aspectus adinvicem, scilicet per conjuncionem suam in eadem parte zodiaci, hoc est in eodem signo, sicut accidit de Sole et Luna in novilunio: et per oppositum in contrariis



partibus quando distant per medium celum sicut accidit in plenilunio de Luna et Sole. Et quando distant per duo signa ab invicem, vocatur sextilis aspectus, quia per sextam partem zodiaci distant, quia duo sunt sexta pars de duodecim. Et quando 10 distant per tria signa vocatur quartus aspectus, quia distant per quartam partem zodiaci. Et quando distant per quatuor signa vocatur trinus aspectus, quia distant per terciam partem zodiaci. Alterant igitur seipso per mutuo et temperant per istos quinque aspectus.

*De tercio modo alteracionis mundi per appropinquacionem planetarum ad terram et eorundem elongacionem a terra.*

**I** Tem virtutes eorum respectu mundi inferioris debilitantur et fortificantur per appropinquacionem ad terram et elongacionem, quia aliquando descendunt versus terram, aliquando ascendunt versus celum.

*De quarta alteracione virtutum planetarum.*

**A**ugmentantur vel remittuntur vel temperantur virtutes planetarum tribus aliis modis, secundum quod sunt in signis diversis vel domibus, que sunt partes principales celi vel mundi, secundum quod currunt sub signis et partibus orbis, quia quando dicimus planetam esse in signo vel domo, sub signo intelligimus vel domo quia per infinitum spaciū respectu nostri distant omnes planete a signis in celo stellato preter Saturnum. Et ille per magnum spaciū distat quando est in propinquitate sua ad terram.

*De signis.*

**A**d horum noticiam oportet scire qualitates signorum. Scindum igitur quod Aries, Leo, Sagittarius sunt ignea, scilicet, calida et sicca : Taurus, Virgo, et Capricornus sunt terrea, scilicet, frigida et sicca : Gemini, Libra, et Aquarius sunt aerea, scilicet, calida et humida : Cancer, Scorpius, et Pisces sunt aquatica, scilicet, frigida et humida. Et hec diversitas currit super hanc regulam ; quod si quocunque signum primo sumatur, quintum ab eo et nonum erunt ejusdem complexionis, ut exempli ficatum est. Quando igitur planeta calidus est sub signo calido, augmentatur ejus calor, et quando sub frido debilitatur ejus calor, et sic de aliis. Sciendum igitur tam pro signis quam planetis, quod nullam caliditatem nec frigiditatem nec siccitatem nec humiditatem in sua substancia habent et natura, set habent virtutem calefaciendi elementa et ea que in eis sunt, et frigefaciendi et exsiccandi et humectandi vel humefaciendi ex sua

<sup>1</sup> In marg. ‘ De tercio modo alteracionis per existenciam eorum in suis locis, scilicet, suorum epicelorum sive deferencium secundum quod sunt in parte superiori vel inferiori vel in mediis.’

<sup>2</sup> In marg. ‘ De quarta alteracione virtutum planetarum secundum quod sunt in diversis signis vel domibus respectu celi.’

potestate ; sicut vinum non est calidum et siccum de sua substancia set frigidum et humidum, et tamen calefacit et exsiccat. Et vinum inebriat, non tamen est ebrium, et sic de infinitis.

*De quinta alteracione planetarum respectu dignitatis et detrimenti  
quas consequuntur in signis dictis.*

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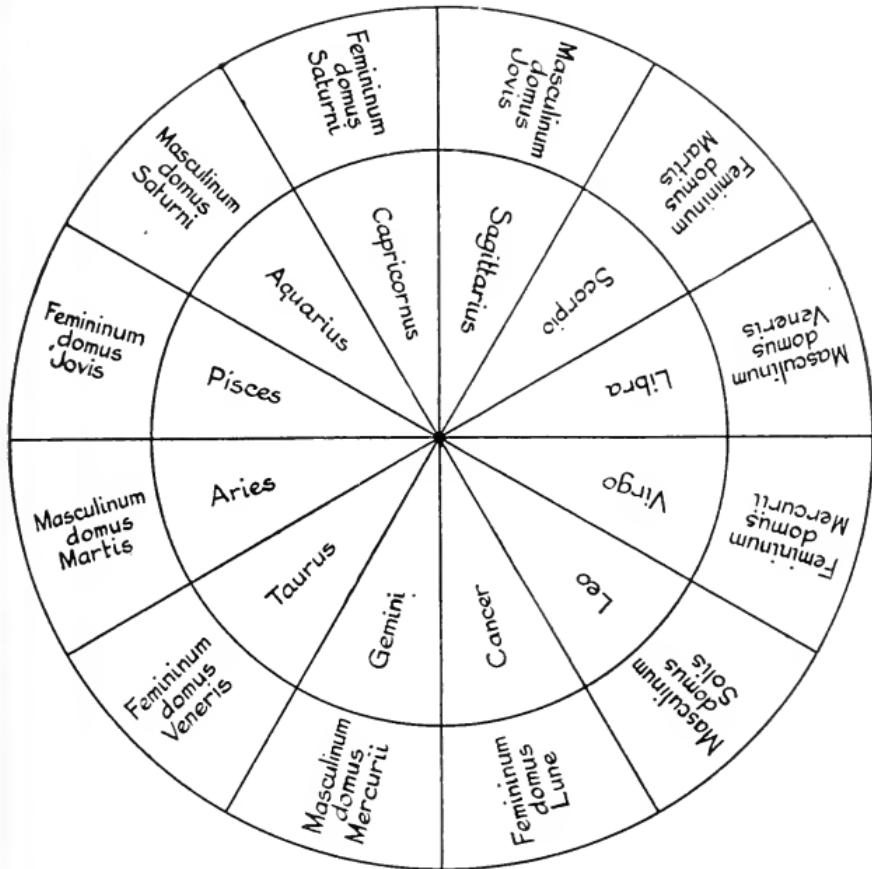
**Q**uinta alteracio planetarum est respectu signorum quantum ad miras virtutes vel detrimenta virtutum. Et sunt quinque prerogative virtutum que vocantur dignitates planetarum, et sunt nomina earum significativa per similitudinem sumpta a potestatibus regis et dignitatibus, et que dicuntur : Domus, Exaltacio, Tripli-<sup>10</sup> citas, Facies, Terminus.

Rex enim quando est in domo sua est in maxima dignitate. Quando vero est extra domum et palacium alibi in regno habet dignitatem et sublimitatem, set non tanta utitur sicut in palacio et domo. Et ideo dicitur secunda dignitas et vocatur exaltacio.<sup>15</sup> Quando vero est inter amicos vocatur triplicitas, quia perfecta amicicia non est nisi in tribus, ut caritas Patri et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Quando vero relucet virtus ejus coram hominibus vocatur facies, et dicitur sic quia facies manifesta est pre aliis partibus corporis. Quando vero est in terminis sui regni tunc minima est<sup>20</sup> dignitas, et ideo quinta dignitas vocatur terminus. Et sic methaphorice dicuntur dignitates planetarum. Et dignitas domus continet quinques dignitatem termini ; exaltacio continet quatuor terminos ; triplicitas tria terminos ; facies duos terminos.

Sciendum igitur quod quilibet planeta habet de numero signorum<sup>25</sup> duas domos, preter Solem et Lunam. Unde Saturnus habet Capricornum et Aquarium : Jupiter Sagittarium et Pisces : Mars Scorpium et Arietem : Venus Libram et Taurum : Mercurius Geminos et Virginem : Luna habet Cancrum : Sol, Leonem. Quoniam vero auctor istius libri non loquitur nisi de donibus,<sup>30</sup> et quasi nichil de aliis, ideo dimitto prosequi alias quatuor dignitates.

Similiter oportet scire pro isto libro quod quedam signa dicuntur<sup>35</sup> b. masculina, quedam feminina, et planete similiter. Et hec nomina sunt translata planetis et signis figurative, quia masculus est majoris virtutis et femina minoris, ut videmus in omnibus vel hominibus, ideo planete et signa majoris virtutis dicuntur mascu-

lina, minoris feminina. Unde Sol, Mars, et Jupiter sunt masculina; Luna, Venus, Saturnus feminini vel feminei; Mercurius in omnibus est indifferens. Aries, qui est primum signum, est masculinus; Taurus femininus; Gemini masculinus; similiter Cancer

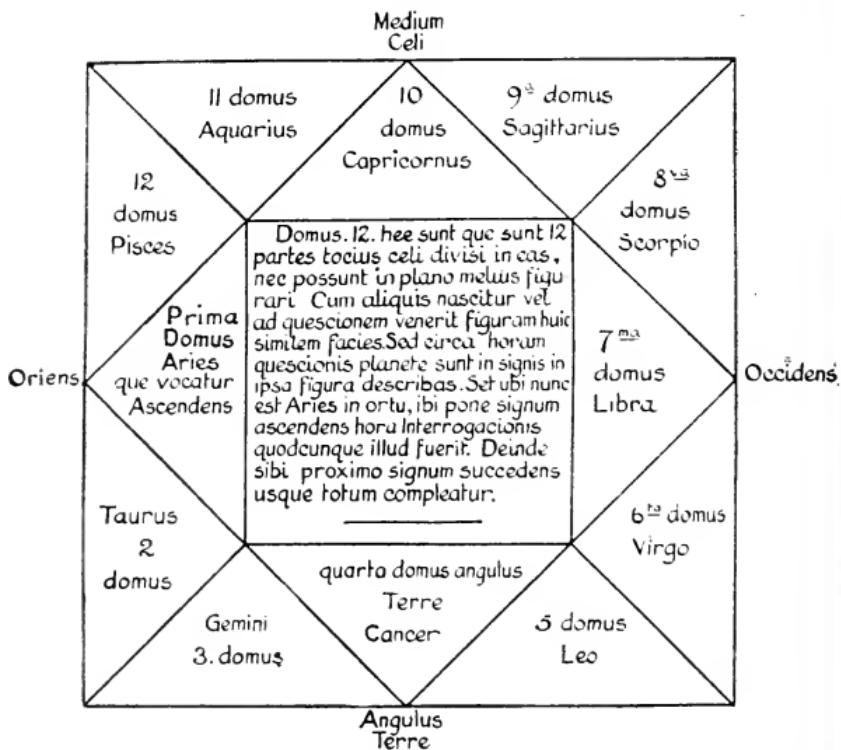


5 femininus. Et sunt per ordinem signorum semper unus masculinus et alias femininus.

*De sexta alteracione que fit per planetas secundum quod sunt in diversis domibus respectu terre.*

ALITER sumuntur domus per divisionem tocius celi in partes 10 duodecim, et distinguntur sic. Nam ab ortu sub terra usque ad angulum terre sunt tres domus, scilicet, prima, secunda, tercia. Angulus autem terre est punctus in celo sub terra oppositus puncto in medio celi super terram. Et inter angulum et ortum est quarta

pars celi, tres domus, scilicet predice. Et ab angulo terre usque ad occasum sunt alie tres domus, et secunda quarta celi in qua sunt quarta, quinta, et sexta domus. Et ab occasu ad punctum in medio celi super terra est alia quarta et alie tres domus, scilicet,



septima, octava, nona. Et a medio punto celi super terram 5 usque ad ortum est ultima quarta celi et tres domus ultime, scilicet, decima, undecima, et duodecima.

Et prima domus vocatur ascendens, quia oritur et ascendit

*In marg.*

In 21 gradu Arietis est casus Saturni.  
in 20 gradu Arietis exaltacio Veneris  
[sic] set Solis.

Exaltacio Lune in 3º gradu Tauri.  
Casus Draconis in 3º gradu Geminorum.  
Exaltacio Draconis 3º Gradu Sagittarii.  
28º gradu Cancri casus Martis.  
Exaltacio Jovis 15º gradu Cancri.  
In Leonem nullus exaltatur.  
In 28 gradu Virginis casus Veneris.

Exaltacio Mercurii in 15 gradu Virginis  
Libra casus Solis 19 gradu.  
Exaltacio Saturni 21 gradu.  
Casus Lune 3 gradu Scorpionis.  
3º gradu Sagitarii casus capitis.  
ereccio caude 3 gradu Sagittarii.  
Casus Jovis 15 gradu Capricorni.  
Exaltacio Martis 28 gradu.  
In Aquario nullus exaltatur.  
Pisces casus Mercurii 15 gradu.  
Exaltacio Veneris 20 gradu Piscium.

super terram et terrena. Mira igitur varietas planetarum est et signorum per istas domos in alteracione mundi inferioris, et de omnibus aliis que tetigi. Que autem sit racio specialis de istis domibus et omnibus aliis que tetigi non pertinet ad hanc dispositionem meam, set queratur in libris astronomie, et maxime in libro Albumazar qui vocatur *Introductorius in Judicia Astronomie*. Et tamen in locis certis istius libri, in quibus hec necessaria sunt, multa posui utilia. Et addo hic figuram signorum ad evidenciam magnam (p. 22).]

- 10 De Gloria Inestimabili est sciendum quod excellit omnes medicinas in libris medicorum scriptas in conservacione sanitatis et virium custodia, tam in anima quam in corpore, cuius laudes patent in textu si non fuerit corruptus, similiter quas res recipit et qualiter preparantur et conficiuntur patet ex litera. Set quia  
 15 nomina sunt Greca aliqua et Arabica plura, et preter hoc textus est corruptus per malos scriptores et falsus in multis libris, queratur que res debet ingredi talem medicinam ex libris Plinii et ex libro Artheppii philosophi quem composuit de tali medicina, qui gloriatur se vixisse 1025 annis per illam medicinam in fortitudine virium et  
 20 bona memoria, et similiter ex libro *de Accidentibus Senectutis*, et sufficienter invenientur, et conficiantur secundum modum quem docet auctor. Set in confeccione considera ultimam .13. condicione quam scripsimus in nostro *Antidotario* de medicinarum confeccione, una cum dictis hic, et habebis medicinam completam.  
 25 Set pro toto generaliter si aliud non poterit fieri, eligantur res cuius proprietates sunt necessarie et medicine cardinales mineras virtutum confortantes et se sigillantes et conservantes, et deinde preparetur corpus equalis complexionis quod non subjacet putrefactioni, ita quod possit converti in nutrimentum sicud alius  
 30 cibus, et misceatur cum predictis in debita proporcione, et reducatur totum ad equalitatem cum re rectificante, et ponatur totum in congregacione radiorum per aliquot dies, et habebis Gloriam Inestimabilem. Cujus virtus provenit ex quatuor, supposita debita preparacione, et fideli eleccione, scilicet, ex proprietate  
 35 rerum sigillancium se, et bona proporcione, et debita commixtione, et celestis virtutis irradicatione. Et ideo potest esse bona, melior, et optima.

Item, sciendum est quod sapientes laboraverunt ut in aliquo  
 29 possit] possi MS.

comestibili vel potabili reducerent elementa ad equalitatem vel prope, et docuerunt vias ad hoc. Set propter difficultatem istius experientie maximam, tum quia pauci curant de experientia, 11 b. quia multiplex est | ibi labor et expensarum magna effusio, nec advertunt homines nature secreta et artis possibilia, ideo accidit quod paucissimi laboraverunt in hujusmodi archanorum maximo, et pauciores venerunt ad finem laudabilem. Multi tamen venerunt sicut in Sciencia Experimentali alibi scripsimus, et unum temporibus nostris vidimus, et credimus quod adhuc vivat in Almannia, et habet litteras papales in testimonium sue etatis. Et 10 consimilis effectus possunt fieri unguenta et pociones, et ista cum dictis in litera intellectu vigentibus sufficiunt ad presens.

Explicit tractatus.

NOTE.—Between this tract and the Secretum Secretorum a number of extracts from the *Opus Tertium* follow, of which the following account is given by Professor Little in his edition.

(2) Item capitulum extractum de quodam opere quod fecit idem frater Rogerus Bacun de ordine minorum ad mandatum pape et valet ad expositionem dictorum et dicendorum in textu. 'Sequitur de sciencia experimentali . . . sicut aves inviscatas. Explicit' fol. 6<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>r</sup> [pp. 43-54, *Opus Tertium*, ed. Little].

(3) Item bene post in eodem libro dicit: 'Deinde cogitavi opus aliud mittere . . . et sic terminatur intencio operis utriusque et sic explicit' (fol. 8<sup>r</sup>) [pp. 77-9].

(4) Item aliud capitulum ejusdem fratris Rogeri Bacun de ordine minorum de potestate verbi et illud capitulum est extractum de prima parte majoris operis quod fecit ad mandatum pape Clementis. 'Deinde comparo linguarum utilitatem ad ecclesiam Dei . . . quia natura est instrumentum divine operationis. Explicit capitulum' (fol. 8<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>) [*Opus Tertium*, cap. xxvi; Brewer, pp. 95-100].

(5) Item aliud capitulum ejusdem fratris Rogeri de eadem materia. 'Vestre [MS. Nestre] peticioni respondeo diligenter . . . inflammatur et lucent' (fol. 9<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>) [Epistola de secretis operibus artis et naturae, capp. i-v, and the first lines of cap. vi; Brewer, pp. 523-36].

(6) Item frater Rogerus Bacun in tercio opere sic dicit: sed quod hic scribitur usque ad perspectivam non est in majori opere, sed tamen illud idem in secundo opere lacijs continetur et aliter explicatur. 'Post hec sequitur operacio mathematica ad rem publicam . . . veniunt Christiani' (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>) [pp. 1-19].

## SECRETUM SECRETORUM

**I**ncipit primus prologus Philippi in libro moralium <sup>26 b.</sup>  
de regimine regum principum ac dominorum  
qui dicitur Secretum Secretorum ab Aristotile  
<sup>5</sup> philosopho editus ad petitionem Alexandri Magni,  
in quo ultima secreta nature sub velamine traduntur,  
sicut in prologo patet, et in capitulo tercio. Quem  
librum transtulit Philippus de lingua Arabica in  
Latinam ad petitionem Guydonis de Valencia civi-  
<sup>10</sup> tatis Napolis pontificis. Et intitulatur Liber Decem  
Scienciarum a quibusdam sapientibus; et dividitur  
in partes quatuor sive libros quatuor, et cuiuslibet  
partis sive libri sunt capitula plurima. Et notabilia  
que superscribuntur in locis certis et glosa inter-  
<sup>15</sup> linearis sunt fratris Rogeri Bacun de ordine  
fratrum minorum.

**D**ominio suo excellentissimo in cultu religionis <sup>27 a.</sup>  
Christiane strenuissimo Guidoni Vere de  
Valencia, civitatis metropolis gloriose ponti-  
fici, Philippus suorum minimus clericorum  
<sup>20</sup> scipsum et devocationis obsequium. Quantum  
Luna ceteris stellis est lucidior, et Solis radius luciditate  
Lune fulgencior: tantum ingenii vestri claritudo, vestreque  
sciencie profunditas cunctos citra mare modernos in literatura  
<sup>25</sup> exuberat, tam barbaros quam Latinos. Nec est aliquis sane  
mentis qui huic sciencie valeat refragari.

Quia cum Largitor graciarum, a quo bona cuncta pro-  
cedunt, singula suis singulis dona sua distribuit, tibi soli

videtur scientiarum plenitudinem et graciaram contulisse. In te namque reperiuntur sanctorum gracie universe: Noe justicie et sanctitas, Abrahe fidelitas, Ysaac confidencia, Jacob longanimitas, Moysi tollerancia, Josue stabilitas, Helye devocio, Helysei perfeccio, Davit benignitas, sensus 5 Salomonis, Job pacienza, castitas Danielis, Ysaie fecunditas, perseverancia Hieremie, cum ceteris sanctorum virtutibus in tua plenissime habitant sanctitate. Adhuc tu in scienciis liberalibus litteratissimus, in divinis et moralibus doctissimus, in ecclesiasticis et legalibus peritissimus. Ideo dignum fuit 10 ut haberet vestra clemencia librum presentis operis, in quo fere de omnibus aliquid utile continetur.

Cum igitur vobiscum essem apud Antiochiam, reperta hac preciosissima philosophie margarita, placuit vestre dominacioni ut transfereretur de lingua Arabica in Latinam. 15 Porro vestro mandato cupiens humiliter obedire et voluntati vestre, sicut teneor, deservire, hunc librum, quo carebant Latini eo quod apud paucissimos Arabes invenitur, transtuli cum magno labore et lucido sermone de Arabico ydiomate in Latinum ad vestram magnitudinem gloriam et honorem, 20 eliciens quandoque ex littera litteram, et quandoque sensum 27 b. ex sensu, cum | alius loquendi modus sit apud Arabes alius apud Latinos. Quem librum peritissimus princeps philosophorum Aristotiles composuit ad petitionem regis Alexandri, discipuli sui. Qui postulavit ab eo, ut ad ipsum veniret, 25 et secretum quarundam artium sibi fideliter revelaret, vide- licet, motum, operacionem, et potestatem astrorum in astro- nomia, et artem alkemie in natura, et artem cognoscendi naturas, et operandi incantaciones, et celimanciam, et geomanciam. 30

Qui quidem ire non potuit propter etatem senescentem et corporis gravitatem, et quamvis secreta predictarum artium sive scientiarum occultare modis omnibus propo- suerat, tamen voluntati et postulacioni tanti domini nec ausus fuit nec debuit contraire. Volens itaque in parte im- 35 peratori satisfacere et in parte secreta artium occultare, hunc librum edidit, loquens enigmatibus et exemplis et figura-

tivis locucionibus, docens extrinsecus literatenus philosophicam doctrinam pertinentem ad dominium dominorum, ad sanitatem corporis conservandam, et ad ineffabilem utilitatem et cognicionem corporum supracelestium adquirendam.  
 5 Intrinsecus vero medullatenus innuit enigmatice et secrete Alexandro principale propositum, quod ab eodem instantissime postulaverat. Dividens utique presentem codicem in distinctiones sive libros quatuor, quorum quilibet continet in se capitula et particulas terminatas, ut vero sub certis  
 10 capitulois vel titulis in promptu et cicias inveniatur quod queritur, ego ad utilitatem legencium in libri principio collegi et descripsi librorum principia et omnia capita titulorum.

Vestre igitur clemencie, pater clementissime, istud devoveo  
 15 opus, quod ad vestram transtuli gloriam et honorem, ut mei memoria apud vos firma maneat, et appareat erga vestrum obsequium devocio mentis mee, supplicans humiliter et devote, quatenus si quid in hoc opere utile reperiatur vel acceptum, ejus dono referatur qui mihi contulit graciam  
 20 transferendi, et Aristotili componendi, si quid autem minus recte inveniatur vel inconvenienter propositum, hoc mee impericie et stoliditati reputetur pocius quam malicie. Attamen vestra facundia, quam novi certissime in diccionum interpretacione et loquendi proprietate fideliter et fertiliter  
 25 habundare, suplenda supleat et corrigat corrigenda. Et divina potencia vos diu custodiat sanum et incolumem ad fidelium gloriam et honorem, et post longissima temporum spacia concedat vobis ad eternum beatitudinis gaudium feliciter pervenire.

<sup>8</sup> quatuor] decem *Vulgata text*    <sup>14</sup> clemencie] prudencie *V*    devoveo]  
 de novo MS.        <sup>20</sup> Aristotili] Aristotilem MS.

Hic liber habet quatuor partes. Prima est de regum varietate et moribus eorum et regimine. Secunda pars est de regimine sanitatis. Tercia est de mirabilibus utilitatibus nature et artis et morum. Quarta est de mirabili eleccione amicorum et bajulorum regis per naturales proprietates 5 corporum ; et hec sciencia vocatur Phisonomia.

*Capitula prime partis.*

Capitulum primum de prohemio sive prologo cujusdam sapientis doctoris in commendacione Aristotilis et epistola Alexandri missa ad Aristotilem pro consilio optinendo et mirabili responsione 10 Aristotilis et sapiencie plena ad epistolam. (p. 36)

Capitulum secundum de prologo Johannis qui transtulit librum istum primo de lingua Greca in Caldeam, et de hac in Arabicam, et de hujus libri invencione et translacione. (p. 39)

Capitulum tertium est epistola Aristotilis remissoria ad peticio- 15 nem regis Alexandri in qua Alexandro querenti incipit satisfacere cum commendacione artis sive doctrine tradende et utilitate desiderii ferventis voluntatis. (p. 40)

Capitulum quartum de hiis que oportet regem habere ad sustentacionem regni sui et de causis bene regnandi, sive de 20 28 b. disposicione regum et ordinacione regni, et | primo de causa occultacionis secretorum per verba enigmatica. (p. 41)

Capitulum quintum de regibus et eorum viciis circa largitatem et avariciam, sive de observancia largitatis, sive de regibus et eorum modis circa largitatem et avariciam et de tribus condicioni- 25 bus considerandis in donis largiendis, et quis est largus et quis prodigus et quare. (p. 42)

Capitulum .6. Adhuc de eodem et aliis virtutibus que pertinent largitati et declinacioni prodigalitatis et avaricie, et de modo dandi ne ultra modum detur, et quid est gloria regum et per- 30 hennitas regnorum, et de causa destruccionis regni Caldeorum, et de substancia largitatis et virtutis, et de commendacione doctrine tradite et tradende. (p. 44)

Capitulum .7. de intellectu et bona fama adquirenda que est finis regni, et est doctrina de virtutibus et viciis. Item quid 35 generat invidia, quid est veritas, et quid generat justicia. (p. 45)

Capitulum .8. de malis que sequuntur ex carnali appetitu. (p. 46)

Capitulum .9. de regis sapiencia et religione sive de regali disposicione quod rex sit sapiens et ut fama sui nominis sive sapiencie sue divulgetur, et de probacione si rex sit sapiens et 40 religiosus vere vel apparenter. (p. 47)

Capitulum .10. de honoracione religiosorum et sapientum, et de providencia et pietate mansuetudine et discrecione. (p. 48)

Capitulum .11. de ornamento regis, et prerogativa, et abstinencia  
a multiloquio et consorcio subditorum. (p. 48)

Capitulum .12. de consuetudine optima regum Indie, scilicet,  
de rara ejus apparicione coram multitidine et quod tunc debeat  
5 facere magnifica, et quod tunc debeat commendari in presencia  
sua coram populo, et similiter populus in presencia regis, et qualiter  
et quare et quod tunc debet punire sceleratos cum causa et debita  
mercatoribus remittere, et eos honorare. Et de corum utilitate et  
quod cavere debeat ne eis injurietur. (p. 49)

<sup>10</sup> Capitulum .13. de vicio et coitu vitandis et finali intencione  
regis, sive de appetitu et intencione regis et ejus castitate (p. 50)

Capitulum .14. de regis solacio et de modestia vultus et risus  
et de instrumentis | musicis audiendis, et de cautela optima <sup>29 a.</sup>  
querendi secreta, et de modo honoracionis procerum et de loco in  
<sup>15</sup> quo magis tenetur eos honorare. (p. 51)

Capitulum quintodecimum de punitione injuriantium et de con-  
versacione regis ad subditos ut ament eum, et de ejus probitate  
et quod obediencia dominatoris quatuor modis attenditur, et quid  
facere debeat rex ne vulgus sinistra de eo loquatur. (p. 52)

<sup>20</sup> Capitulum .16. de regis similitudine et comparacione ejus ad  
pluviam et ventos et hyemem et estatem, et de utilitate pluvie et  
ventorum, et de malis que cum illis eveniunt, et quod in tempore  
malo implorant creature clemenciam Creatoris ut ab eis mala  
tollantur. Et quod hoc non obstante Deus sustinet sive permittit  
<sup>25</sup> superiora tenere cursum quem eis statuit. (p. 53)

Capitulum .17. de subvencione egenorum et regis providencia  
contra causam futuram. (p. 54)

Capitulum .18. de regis misericordia quod rex non sit facilis ad  
effusionem sanguinis cum causa mirabili et optima et est doctoris  
<sup>30</sup> egregii Hermogenis. (p. 55)

Capitulum .19. de fidelitate et juramento servandis secundum  
exemplum antiquorum et de memoria regis et recordacione pre-  
teritorum, et quod quilibet homo habet duos spiritus custodientes  
<sup>35</sup> scientes bona et mala, scilicet, cuncta opera sua rescribentes  
Creatori quicquid disreverit faciendum ; et quod rex non debet  
jurare, et si faciat raro tamen, et de causa destruccionis regni  
Anibasoyorum et Scitarum, et de promissione doctrine specialis et  
moralis ad regendum familiam et populum communem. (p. 56)

Capitulum .20. de studio promovendo et quod non est dolendum  
<sup>40</sup> de adversis preteritis, quia mutari non possunt, et de studiis  
sapiencie ordinandis et scolis et studiis preparandis et prerogativa  
facienda bene studentibus cum causa.<sup>1</sup> (p. 58)

Capitulum .21. de cavendis mulieribus et venenis et omni im-  
mundicia, et de corporis custodia et quod .10. medici convenienter in

<sup>1</sup> In a later hand: ‘Item de puella nutrita in domo patris sui que sciebat astronomiam, et vituperacione clericorum famosorum et senum in studio qui ignorant ea que puella sciebat.’

unum si possibile sit tot habere ad medicinam ordinandam et componendam pro corpore suo. Et qualis debet esse apothecarius sive herbarius, et de facto regine Indie, et de mundicia anime. (p. 59)

Capitulum .22. et est capitulum ultimum prime partis de hora |  
29 b. eligenda per consilium sapientis astrologi ad omnia facienda et 5  
quod sine suo consilio nichil fiat, sive de regimine vite per astro-  
nomiam et de providencia facienda et oracionibus ad Deum  
effundendis cum devocione, jejuniis, serviis, sacrificiis, elemo-  
sinis, et similibus operibus cum causa sua bona et vera, et de  
utilitate que ex ista consideracione consequitur, et per oppositum 10  
de malis que eveniunt non considerantibus sive negligentibus hec.

Expliciunt capitula partis prime. (p. 60)

### *Ncipiunt capitula partis secunde.*

Capitulum primum partis secunde est de conservacione sanitatis et ortu scienciarum. (p. 64) 15

Capitulum .2. de equalitate servanda in omnibus, scilicet in cibo et potu et aliis scilicet .5. rebus non naturalibus residuis que enumerat, videlicet qualiter homo permanebit semper sanus et ad ultimam longitudinem vite perveniet, et quare omnia sunt inventa et quare a superflua comedione est abstinentum cum sua probacione, et que est summa medicina et est capitulum istud ultima gloria inestimabilis precii ad conservandam sanitatem et normam vivendi. (p. 65)

Capitulum tertium de conservacione sanitatis secundum qualitatem complexionis et temporis, sive de cibacione et potacione 25 secundum complexionem cuiuslibet et secundum tempora, et quot modis sanitas conservatur, videlicet qualiter quelibet complexio debet conservari in suo statu, et ad aliam reduci si oportet, et que cibaria convenient stoma calido et que frigido, ut conserventur, et de cognicione boni stomachi et mali. (p. 66) 30

Capitulum .4. de hiis que pertinent ad regimen sanitatis post sompnum nocturnum ante horam preparacionis ad cibum sumendum. (p. 68)

Capitulum .5. de motu antequam sumatur cibus, et de cibo et potu, et de modo cibandi et potandi. (p. 71) 35

Capitulum .6. de modo dormiendi super latera diversa et de dolore stomachi et eructuacione ejus et eorum remediis. (p. 73)

Capitulum .7. de motu post prandium et de dormitione ante 30 a. prandium et post, | scilicet, quando mocio est exercenda. (p. 73)

Capitulum .8. de semel comedendo vel bis et de consuetudine 40 comedendi observanda. (p. 75)

Capitulum .9. quod non iteretur comedio ante digestionem perfectam prioris cibi et quomodo hoc cognoscitur sive de hora comedendi. (p. 75)

Capitulum .10. de intencione in universalis quatuor temporum 45

- anni, scilicet, de vere, estate, autumpno, et hyeme pro regimine sanitatis et primo de vere et regimine sanitatis in eo. ⟨p. 76⟩
- 5 Capitulum .11. de estate et regimine sanitatis in ea. ⟨p. 77⟩
- Capitulum .12. de autumpno et regimine sanitatis in eo. ⟨p. 78⟩
- Capitulum .13. de hyeme et regimine sanitatis in ea. ⟨p. 80⟩
- 10 Capitulum .14. de custodiendo calore naturali et vita per res convenientes vitando contrarias, sive de conservantibus juventutem et vitam prolongantibus cum inpinguantibus corpus et macerantibus sive calefacientibus et humectantibus macerantibus et desiccantibus. ⟨p. 81⟩
- Capitulum .15. de divisione corporis in .4. partes, et primo de capite et egritudine ejus et qualiter cognoscitur et de ejus remedio. ⟨p. 83⟩
- 15 Capitulum .16. de pectore et signis si in eo sit egritudo et ejus remedio. ⟨p. 84⟩
- Capitulum .17. de malis oculorum et ejus remediis. ⟨p. 84⟩
- Capitulum .18. de testiculis et eorum egritudinibus et cura. ⟨p. 87⟩
- 20 Capitulum .19. de conservantibus sanitatem potenter, et de remediis contra febrem et guttam et egritudines fleumaticas et contra quartanam et contra omne venenum et est de medicinis cotidianis et ad confortandum intellectum et memoriam secundum opinionem philosophorum Grecorum Medorum et Indorum. ⟨p. 87⟩
- 25 Capitulum .20. de custodia caloris naturalis et quot modis destruitur. ⟨p. 88⟩
- Capitulum .21. de divisione ciborum. ⟨p. 89⟩
- Capitulum .22. de cognitione aquarum. ⟨p. 90⟩
- Capitulum .23. de generibus vini et ejus cognitione. ⟨p. 91⟩
- 30 Capitulum .24. de commendacione sirupi acetosi contra flegma, et boni vini et panis de frumento, de remocione ebrietatis et de modo transferendi hominem ab una consuetudine ad aliam, ut de potacione vini puri ad aquam puram absque gravi lesione nature. ⟨p. 93⟩
- Capitulum .25. de hiis que corroborant corpus et conservant in juventute et inpinguantibus et macerantibus. | ⟨p. 94⟩
- 35 Capitulum .26. de balneis et eorum disposizione. ⟨p. 96⟩
- Capitulum .27. de comedacione et utilitate execucionis doctrine precedentis et transmissione ad alias libros quos fecit de simili materia. ⟨p. 98⟩
- 40 Capitulum .28. de preparacione carnis viperarum sive serpentum et eorum eleccione, et de tempore eos sumendi et ad quid valent, et de modo faciendi trociscos pro multis egritudinibus, et loquitur de serpente colubro et dracone quia ex quolibet eorum fit medicina magna. ⟨p. 105⟩
- 45 Capitulum .29. de arte componendi medicinam que dicitur Gloria Inestimabilis sive Thesaurus Philosophorum. Et primo de compositione mellis quo componuntur octo medicine speciales

que requiruntur ad compositionem integrum illius medicina que vocatur Gloria Inestimabilis, que omnem curat egritudinem, calidam, frigidam, siccum, et humidam, sicut ex compositione patet bene consideranti, qua habita et bene preparata nulla alia est necessaria cum ipsa pro omnibus sufficiat. (p. 99) 5

Prima medicina confortat cerebrum, cor, et stomachum. (p. 99)

Secunda medicina corroborat stomachum et constringit, et purgat malos et putridos humores qui sunt in stomacho sine abominatione et violencia et sine aliqua lesione, confortat insuper pectus, cerebrum, et cæthenam corporis. (p. 100) 10

Medicina .3. corroborat omnia membra et maxime principalia. (p. 101)

Medicina .4. juvat appetitum et instrumentum pectoris et pulmonem. (p. 101)

Medicina .5. expellit melancoliam, subtiliat flegma, tollit superfluas humiditates, stomachum temperat, aperit constipacionem et expellit ventositatem. (p. 102) 15

Medicina .6. lenit pectus et confert respiracioni, reparat stomachum et repellit dolorem dencium. (p. 102)

Medicina .7. proprie reparat stomachum et fugat ventositatem. (p. 102) 20

Medicina .8. emendat epar, reparat cor, et confortat et roborat universa membra interiora. (p. 103)

Medicina .9. ex istis .8. medicinis predictis cum melle predicto et quibusdam aliis additis componitur que Gloria Inestimabilis 25 nuncupatur, cuius laudes patent in fine capituli, et in hac nona et ultima compositione tangit philosophus ultimum secretum nature si advertatur; set illud sine diligentí studio et intellectu subtili scienciaque maxima non percipietur sive apprehendetur cuius effectum consequetur sapientissimus. Beatus ergo ad quem per-

<sup>31 a.</sup> veniet capituli apprehensio et finis | exsecucio quoniam princeps vere et mundo dominari poterit et elementis. (p. 103)

Capitulum .30. de tempore flebotomie et medicinarum tam digestivarum quam laxativarum, scarificationis et ventosarum appositionis, et quod nichil est faciendum sine consilio scientis 35 astronomiam, scilicet, quo tempore debet fieri apercio vene et quid est considerandum circa illud, quid eligendum quid cavendum, similiter de tempore scarificationis faciende et ventose apponende, et de horis competentibus pro laxativa sumenda, et quod medicus debet scire loca planetarum et aspectus eorum adinvicem, et in quo signo fuerit Sol et Luna. quia principium operis debet esse secundum bonam constellationem Lune et ejus absenciam a malis. (p. 108)

Explicita capitula partis secunde et sunt triginta.

### *Inciunt capitula partis tercie.*

Capitulum primum partis tercie est de alkimistis et de con- 45 versione cujuslibet in quodlibet, sive elementorum adinvicem, scilicet, unius elementi in alterum per artem. (p. 114)

Capitulum .2. de mirabilibus lapidibus et eorum proprietatibus.

*(p. 118)*

Capitulum .3. de generali sive universalis cognitione plantarum mirabilium et que elementa dominantur in plantis que in mineralibus, qui planete dominantur elementis et qualiter cognoscetur qui planete quibus vegetabilibus dominantur, et a quibus planetis virtutem accipiunt.

*(p. 119)*

Capitulum .4. de plantis mirabilibus in speciali.

*(p. 121)*

Capitulum .5. de justicia et mirabilibus bonis que sequuntur sive nascuntur ex ipsa.

*(p. 123)*

Capitulum .6. de creatis in quibus attenditur justicia naturalis, scilicet, de substancia simplici et speris et clementis, sive de mirabilibus creationis operibus. in quibus attenditur justicia naturalis, et quot sunt celi.

*(p. 127)*

Capitulum .7. quod anima cuiuslibet primo debet sciri a quolibet et de divisione virtutum anime et de regiminibus et statibus anime in hac vita et futura.

*(p. 130)*

Capitulum .8. de .5. sensibus servientibus intellectui, sive de homine et ejus .5. sensibus quasi de rege et ejus .5. bajulis sive consiliariis, et quot sunt planete quorum spere moventur circulariter, et quot sunt genera animalium, et quod quinque sunt in qualibet planta, et quinque toni musicales, et .5. dies nobiles de universis, et .5. porte maris.

*(p. 132)*

Capitulum .9. de consiliariis regis et modo | consilii, et quod non manifestet alicui secretum quod est in corde suo, et quod attendat in quo omnes et sapientes conveniunt, et quod non ostendat eis vel alicui in quo mens sua quiescit donec progrediatur in actu et experientiam, et quod equalis honor debet fieri omnibus suis consiliariis.

*(p. 135)*

Capitulum .10. de varietate complexionis et morum per constelacionem nativitatis, sive de varietate judicii et consilii et consulencium et eleccione eorum per constellaciones in nativitatibus suis que confirmantur per pulchra exempla.

*(p. 136)*

Capitulum .11. adhuc de eleccione consulencium et de variis articulis eorum et consiliorum, sive de consiliario eligendo et de consilio in omnibus agendo et perquirendo, et de modo querendi consilium a multis et quid est consilium.

*(p. 137)*

Capitulum .12. de numero bajulorum et quod non constituantur unus solus bajulus in regimine loco domini, set septem si poterit fieri vel tres ad minus ordinentur, et de bajulis experiendis, et de signis quibus cognoscuntur an boni vel mali sint consiliarii.

*(p. 139)*

Capitulum .13. de bonis moribus et virtutibus boni bajuli, sive de .15. specialibus condicionibus boni et optimi bajuli pro regibus, et de naturis et condicionibus bonis, et quod mos vel consuetudo sive proprium cuiuslibet animalis et cuiuslibet rei invenitur in homine, et quod hac de causa vocatus est homo minor mundus,

et quod non invenitur proprium in aliquo animali vegetabili sive originali, quin illud proprium inveniatur in homine. ⟨p. 141⟩

Capitulum .14. de confidencia in homine non habenda nisi sit tue legis et professionis, scilicet, quod non est confidendum in homine alterius legis, quod confirmat per exemplum de Mago et 5 Judeo. ⟨p. 144⟩

Capitulum .15. de eleccione hominum prudentum et fidelium ad scribenda gesta et dicta regis, sive de scriptoribus secretorum eligendis et eorum remuneracione cum causa. ⟨p. 146⟩

Capitulum .16. de eleccione nunciorum dignorum, sive de 10 nunciis et secretariis eligendis. ⟨p. 147⟩

Capitulum .17. de regimine debitorum subditorum, sive de subditis regendis et defendendis et propositis super eos constitutuendis. | ⟨p. 148⟩

<sup>32 a.</sup> Capitulum .18. de proceribus et ordine eorum in bello, scilicet, 15 de ordinacione exercitus secundum numerum sub numero, seu de disposicione et numero procerum seu militum in regimine regni in tempore belli, scilicet, de disposicione ductoris et de accione bellatorum ipsorum inferiorum et de instrumento bellico exercitum coadunante, et forma ejusdem. ⟨p. 149⟩ <sup>20</sup>

Capitulum .19. de rege in bello et aliis que debent attendi in bello et de providenciis in exercitu, scilicet, de regimine bellorum et disposicione bellatorum et de forma aggrediendi sive aggredientium bellum et provocacionibus eorundem. ⟨p. 152⟩

Capitulum .20. de eleccione temporis pro bellis aggrediendis et 25 de ordinacione planetarum. ⟨p. 155⟩

Capitulum .21. de conveniencia supracelestium cum inferioribus, scilicet, qualiter superiora dominantur inferioribus ad fortunandum regem et pacificandum regiones ut sibi obedient gratis sine coaccione, et est capitulum incantacionis philosophice 30 in generali. ⟨p. 157⟩

Capitulum .22. de apprehensione intellectus. ⟨p. 158⟩

Capitulum .23. de incantamentis faciendis. ⟨p. 162⟩

Explicitunt capita partis tertie.

### *Naciunt capita partis quarte.*

35

Capitulum primum est de phisonomia in universali. ⟨p. 164⟩

Capitulum .2. de phisonomia in particulari, et primo de temperata natura. ⟨p. 166⟩

Capitulum .3. de capillis. ⟨p. 167⟩

Capitulum .4. de oculis. ⟨p. 168⟩ <sup>40</sup>

Capitulum .5. de superciliis. ⟨p. 168⟩

Capitulum .6. de naso. ⟨p. 168⟩

Capitulum .7. de facie. ⟨p. 169⟩

Capitulum .8. de ore, facie, et temporibus. ⟨p. 169⟩

Capitulum .9. de auribus. ⟨p. 169⟩ <sup>45</sup>

Capitulum .10. de voce et modo loquendi. ⟨p. 169⟩

Capitulum .11.	de collo.	⟨p. 170⟩
Capitulum .12.	de ventre, pectore, et tergo.	⟨p. 170⟩
Capitulum .13.	de humeris et brachiis.	⟨p. 170⟩
Capitulum .14.	de palmis manuum et digitis.	⟨p. 170⟩
5 Capitulum .15.	de pedibus et tibiis.	⟨p. 171⟩
Capitulum .16.	de passu lato et tardo, brevi et inpetuoso.	⟨p. 171⟩

Capitulum .17. de homine optime memorie et bene composito  
per comparacionem ad signa predicta, et de modo judicandi non  
per unum signum sed per testimonia plurium. | ⟨p. 171⟩

Explicitur capitula partis quarte.

2 b.

b 32 b.

*Capitulum primum de prologo cuiusdam doctoris in commendacione Aristotilis.*Dedication by  
Arabic writer.

**D**euS omnipotens custodiat regem nostrum gloriam credencium, et confirmet regnum suum ad tuendam legem divinam et suam, et perdurare faciat ipsum ad exaltandam honorem et laudem bonorum.

Ego suus serviens executus mandatum mihi injunctum dedi operam ad inquirendam librum moralium in regimine dominii qui vocatur Secretum Secretorum, quem edidit princeps philosophorum Aristotiles filius Nichomachi de Macedonia discipulo suo magno imperatori Alexander filio Philippi regis Grecorum. Qui Alexander dicitur duo cornua<sup>1</sup> habuisse.

Hunc quidem librum composuit in sua senectute et virtutum corporalium debilitate, postquam non poterat cotidianos labores et viarum discrimina tollerare, nec regalia negocia excercere. Quia Alexander constituit eum magister et prepositum, quem elegerat et dilexerat multum, eo quod erat vir magni consilii et sani et literature magne, penetrabilis intellectus, vigilans in legalibus studiis, in gratuitis moribus et spiritualibus scienciis, contemplativus, caritatus, discretus, humilis, amator justicie, relator veritatis. Et propter hoc multi philosophorum reputabant ipsum de numero prophetarum. Invenitur enim in antiquis codicibus Grecorum quod Deus excelsus suum angelum destinavit ad eum dicens: Pocius nominabo te angelum quam hominem.

33 a.

Sane multa habet<sup>2</sup> prodigia et magna miracula et extranea opera que nimis esset longum cuncta per ordinem enarrare, unde de morte sua diverse sunt opiniones. Quedam enim secta que dicitur peripathetica asserit ipsum ascendisse ad empireum celum in columpna ignis.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cornua duo significant duo regna, scilicet, Grecie et Asie que optinuit.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotiles scilicet in libris suis.

<sup>3</sup> Hec est sententia philosophorum paganorum, set nobis

Title of the  
book.Made for  
Alexanderby Aristotle in  
his old age.Praise of  
Aristotle.Counted among  
the prophets.

Peripatetics.

Aristotle taken  
up to heaven.

Dum igitur viveret, convaluit Alexander in sanitatis 33 b.  
 observacione per observanciam sui sani consilii et imitacione  
 precepti. Et ideo subjugavit sibi civitates, et triumphans  
 adquisivit sibi cuncta regna, et tocius mundi solus tenuit  
 5 monarchiam, et in omnem terram exivit fama sua, et per  
 omnia mundi climata omnes gentes et diverse naciones  
 subiciebantur suo imperio et precepto, Arabes atque Perses,

Alexander fol-  
lowed his advice  
and became  
master of the  
world.

Christianis non est licitum hoc sentire nec firmare, quia nisi Christians  
 habuisset fidem Christi revelatam ei aut fuisse instructus a  
 prophetis, salvari non potuit. Nescimus tamen quid Deus fecerit  
 ei et aliis dignis prophetis et philosophis, quibus dedit magnalia  
 sapiencie. Nam Plato expressit Trinitatem, sicut docet Augustinus  
 libro *De civitate Dei*, et alii doctores hoc firmant, et multa nobilia  
 sensit de Deo et angelis et vita futura. Aristotiles vero, discipulus  
 15 Platonis set longe transgrediens magistrum suum, dicit in principio  
*Celi et Mundi* sic : ‘Magnificamus adorare deum unum et trinum  
 eminentem proprietatibus eorum que sunt creata. Nam hunc  
 numerum trinitatis extraximus a natura rerum : omne enim et  
 totum et perfectum ponimus in tribus, scilicet, in principio medio  
 20 et fine.’ Pater est principium, Filius est medium, Spiritus Sanctus Aristotle's belief  
 finis. Set licet hec tria nomina—Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus—non expressit hic, tamen in lege sua vel alibi presumendum  
 est quod hec percepti, quia in lege sua habuit tres oraciones et  
 tria sacrificia ad honorem Trinitatis. Et Plato expressit patrem near to that of Christians.  
 25 et paternam mentem et utriusque amorem mutuum, ut sancti docent. Multo ergo magis Aristotiles, ejus sectator in omnibus  
 veris et ad majora perveniens, credidit beatam Trinitatem. Legimus enim in vita beati Dyonisii quod antequam fuit conversus St. Denis the Areopagite.  
 30 ipse et alii crediderunt Deum hominem salvatorem mundi venturum, quem vocabant Deum ignotum cui etiam fecerunt Athenis Avicenna.  
 aram quam vocabant Aram Deo ignoto. Et Avicenna .9. libro. *Methaphysice* docet resurreccionem. Et Democritus antiquior Ethicus.  
 omnibus similiter, sicut Plinius scribit libro. 7. Et Ethicus astro-  
 nomus, testante Hieronimo, multa sensit de Christo in libro  
 35 quem transtulit illius philosophi. Multaque hic allegari possunt  
 de dictis philosophorum que saltē sunt in consolacionem fidei 33 b.  
 nostre. Habuerunt enim quedam preludia fidei, set quod sufficien-  
 tem fidem habuerunt non debemus ponere, nec tamen debemus affirmare dampnacionem aliquorum dignissimorum virorum, quia  
 40 nescimus quid fecerit eis Deus, licet non fuerunt sub lege, sicut we must not assume the  
 nec beatus Job. damnation of such persons.

12 *Augustinus*] lib. viii. c. 4.

16 *Celi et Mundi*] lib. i. c. 2.

31 *Avicenna*] lib. ix. c. 7.

neque fuit gens aliqua que auderet ei resistere in facto vel dicto.

Porro multas morales epistolas composuit Aristotiles propter nimiam delectacionem cordium et finale secretum: una vero de suis epistolis est hec quam direxit Alexandro. 5 Cum enim Alexander subjugavit sibi Perses et captivavit magnates direxit epistolam suam ad Aristotilem sub hac forma.

*Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotilem consulatoria.* O doctor egregie, rector justicie, significo tue prudencie me invenisse 10 in terra Perses quasdam gentes habundantes ratione | et intellectu penetrabili, studentes super alios dominari et regnum acquirere. Unde nos proponimus occidere universos. Quicquid super hoc decreveris, nobis significa tuis scripturis.

*Responsio Aristotilis ad epistolam.*

15

Cui Aristotiles ita respondit. Si non potes illius terre mutare aerem et aquam, insuper et dispositionem<sup>1</sup> civitatum, imple tuum propositum.<sup>2</sup> Si potes dominari<sup>3</sup> super eos cum bonitate, exaudies eos cum benignitate. Quod si feceris, fiduciam habeas, cum Dei adjutorio, quod omnes 20 erunt subjecti ad tuum beneplacitum et preceptum. Et per amorem quem habebunt in te dominaberis in eis cum triumpho pacifice.

Alexander igitur, accepta epistola, suum adimplevit consilium diligenter, et erant Perses magis obedientes suo 25 imperio quam omnes alic naciones.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> id est, malos mores.

<sup>2</sup> hoc est, interface omnes sicud proposuisti.

<sup>3</sup> hoc est, si potes mutare aerem et aquam.

<sup>4</sup> Si non potes mutare illius terre aerem et aquam, etc. Hic 30 tangit maximum secretum. Vult enim quod Alexander deberet mutare malas qualitates terre et aeris illarum regionum in bonas, ut hominum complexio mala mutaretur in bonam, et ut sic mali mores mutarentur in bonos. Per qualitates enim regionis cuiuslibet invenitur complexio, et per complexionem excitatur homo 35

*Capitulum secundum (de prologo) Johannis qui transtulit 34 b.*

C

*librum bis, et de libri invencione.*

Johannes, qui transtulit librum istum, filius Patricii,<sup>Prologue of Yahya ibn Batrik.</sup> linguarum interpretator peritissimus et fidelissimus, inquit: Non reliqui locum nec templum in quibus philosophi consueverunt componere et reponere sua opera secreta quod non visitavi, nec aliquem peritissimum quem credidi habuere aliquam noticiam de scriptis philosophicis quod non exquisivi, quoisque veni ad oraculum Solis quod construxerat <sup>Wanderings in search of wisdom.</sup>

Esclapides pro se. In quo inveni quemdam virum solitarium, abstinentem, studentem in philosophia peritissimum, ingenio excellentissimum, cui me humiliavi in quantum potui, servivi diligenter et supplicavi devote ut mihi ostenderet secreta scripta illius oraculi. Qui mihi <sup>The oracle of the Sun.</sup> libenter tradidit.

Et inter cetera, desideratum opus inveni propter quod ad illum locum iveram, et tempore longissimo laboraveram. Quo habito, cum gaudio ad propria remeavi, inde referens gricias multis modis Creatori. Et ad petitionem regis illustrissimi laboravi studens<sup>1</sup>, et transtulii primo ipsum de lingua Greca in Caldeam, et de hac in Arabicam. In primis igitur sicut inveni in isto codice transtuli librum peritissimi Aristotilis, in quo libro respondeatur ad petitionem regis Alexandri sub hac forma.

ad mores, licet non cogatur, set ut gratis velit ea ad que qualitates regionis et complexio inclinant, ut in principio expositum est. Quod si non posset facere, tunc jussit ut omnes interficeret. Set qualiter deberent qualitates regionis immutari docet alibi in hoc libro. Set asini respuunt propter magnitudinem sapiencie, et propter modum loquendi, quia translator nomina aliqua ponit quibus utuntur magici, ut prius in quaterno declaravi. Et multa exemplaria non habent illam doctrinam quia stulti non voluerunt scribere, set abraserunt a libris suis, sicut exemplaria quatuor que nunc inveni Oxonie non habuerunt illa, nec similiter multa alia, set Parisius habui exemplaria perfecta.

<sup>1</sup> vel, studiis.

**d** *Capitulum tertium est epistola Aristotilis remissoria ad petitionem Alexandri in qua Alejandro conquerenti de eo incipit satisfacere sub hac forma: et de utilitate libri cogniti, et quid facit fervens desiderium in omni rc.*

The introductory letter of Aristotle to Alexander.  
May God keep thee.

I have received your invitation.

I have written instructions for your guidance,

and would come to you if I could,

but age forbids.

I send you all the secrets I dare divulge:

read and ponder them.

You can understand my teaching.

**O** Fili gloriosissime, imperator justissime, confirmet te 5 Deus in via cognoscendi et in semita veritatis et virtutis, et reprimat appetitus bestiales, et tuum regnum corroboret, et illuminet tuum ingenium ad suum servicium et honorem. Tuam quidem epistolam recepi honorifice sicut decet, et plene intelexi quantum habes desiderium de 10 mea persona ut tecum essem, mirans qualiter possum abstinere de te, arguens me de tuis operibus parum curare.

Porro hac de causa proposui et festinavi facere canonem tue clemencie, qui tibi erit libra ponderans cuncta tua opera, suplens vices meas, et regula certissima ad omnia que volueris, 15 et que ostensurus essem si tecum presens essem. Non deberes siquidem me arguere, cum scias vel scire debeas quod non omitto venire ad tuam clemenciam et gloriam clarissimam propter contemptum, set quia gravitas etatis et debilitas corporis circumvenerunt | et reddiderunt me pon- 20 derosum atque inhabilem ad eundum. Preterea quod interrogasti et scire desideras est archanum tale quod humana pectora vix poterunt tollerare; quomodo ergo possunt in mortalibus pellibus depingi? Ad illud itaque quod te decet inquire et mihi licitum est tractare, me oportet et tencor ex debito respondere. sicut tu teneris ex debito discretionis non exigere a me amplius ex hoc secreto quod tibi tradidi in 25 hoc libro. Quia si attente et studiose legeris et intellexeris et ad plenum sciveris que in ipso continentur, indubitanter credo quod non erit inter te et illud quod scire desideras aliquod obstaculum: quia tantam graciam Deus contulit tibi in intellectu et velocitate ingenii et literatura scienciarum. Insuper per meam doctrinam precedentem quam tibi tradidi, per te ipsum poteris apprehendere et figurative intelligere

1 Chapter v. V.

14 libra] liber V

totum illud quod postulas edoceri. Quia desiderium ferventis voluntatis aperiet tibi viam ad tuum propositum optinendum, et perducet te ad finem optatum, Domino concedente.

You will attain  
your end.

*Capitulum de hiis que oportet regem habere ad sustentacionem regni sui, et de causis bene regnandi, et de causa occultacionis secretorum per verba enigmatica; et est capitulum quartum. |*

**C**AUSA quidem subest quare tibi figurative revelo secretum <sup>36 a.</sup> I speak in  
enigmas fearing  
lest the book fall  
into unworthy  
hands. meum, loquens tecum exemplis enigmaticis atque signis, quia timeo nimium ne liber presencium ad manus deveniat infidelium et ad potestatem arrogancium, et sic perveniat ad illos ultimum bonum et archanum divinum, ad quod summus Deus illos judicavit immeritos et indignos. Ego sane transgressor essem tunc divine gracie et fractior celestis secreti et occulte revelationis. Eapropter tibi, sub attestacione divini judicii, istud detego sacramentum eo modo quo mihi est revelatum. Scias igitur quod qui He shall suffer  
who reveals  
secrets to the  
unworthy. occulta detegit et archana revelat indignis, ipsum in proximo infortunia secuntur, unde securus esse non poterit a contingentibus et malis futuris. Dominus igitur custodiat te a consimili et ab omni opere in honesto. Post hec autem omnia, ad tuam reduco memoriam illud salutissimum documentum quod tibi semper consuetus sum exponere, et tuam nobilissimam animam informare, et hoc erit tuum propositum solacium et speculum salutare. |

Bear in mind my  
former teachings.

Oportet itaque quemlibet regem de necessitate habere duo <sup>36 b.</sup> The two supports  
of a kingdom :  
the first is  
strength of men. juvamina sustinencia regnum suum. Unum eorum est fortitudo virorum quibus tuetur et confortabitur regnum suum, et non habebit hoc, nisi quando rector in rectis et dominator in subditis dominetur, et ipsi subditi uniformiter obediunt dominanti, sicut propter inobedientiam subditorum debilitatur et subicitur potentia dominantis et regnantis, et subditi dominantur. Et ego ostendam tibi causam propter quam et per quam inducuntur subditi obedire dominanti. Causa Twofold cause of  
obedience in  
subjects : quidem duplex est, una est intrinseca, et alia extrinseca. wise expendi-  
ture, just  
rewards. Et ego declarabo tibi nunc extrinsecam videlicet ut rex

dispenset eis suas divicias sapienter, et circa eos exerceat largitatem, retribuendo singulis secundum merita singulorum. Et cum toto isto, oportet regem habere aliam cautelam, de qua faciam tibi mencionem in sequentibus, scilicet, in capitulo de diviciis et juvaminibus. Secundum juvamen est inducere 5 animos ad operaciones licitas, et istud precedit et est in primo gradu. Et istud secundum juvamen habet duas causas intrinsecam et extrinsecam. Causa extrinseca est ut

The second is a good disposition in his subjects.

Twofold cause of this.

37 a. Justice in the matter of heritages and possessions, and the secret of philosophers,

which you will find here.

Search for the esoteric meaning of its maxims.

then, by the help of God, you will have attained all wisdom.

rex justiciam | exerceat circa possessiones et adquisitas pecunias subditorum parciendo et miserando. Causa vero 10 intrinseca est secretum antiquorum philosophorum et justorum consilium quos gloriosus Deus preelegit et eis suam scientiam commendavit. Et ego commendo tibi illud secretum cum quibusdam aliis que invenies in diversis capitulis sive titulis hujus libri. In quibus extrinsecus philosophiam 15 maximam invenies et doctrinam, intrinsecus enim causa finalis que intenditur continetur, ibi enim est totum principale propositum et finale. Cum igitur percepferis significaciones secretorum et enigmata exemplorum, tunc plene et perfecte desideratum propositum consequeris. Deus itaque sapien- 20 tissimus et gloriosissimus tuam illuminet rationem et clarificet intellectum ad percipiendum istius scientie sacramentum, ut in ea merearis adipisci fructum veritatis, ut meus heres et successor fidelis officiaris, ipso Deo adjuvante, qui suas divicias influit habundanter in animas sapientum, et studentibus tribuit graciam cognoscendi, cui nichil est difficile, nichil impossible, sine quo nichil est possibile possidere (vel possideri).

f

Four ways in which kings treat their subjects' wealth.

Italians.

Indians.

*Capitulum quintum de regibus et corum viciis circa largitate et avaricia, sive de quadruplici regum condicione.*

37 b. **R**Eges sunt quatuor: rex largus sibi et largus subditis suis, et rex avarus sibi et avarus subditis suis, | et rex avarus sibi et largus subditis, et rex largus sibi et avarus subditis. Italici itaque dixerunt, non est vicium in rege si est avarus sibi et largus subditis. Indi vero dixerunt, qui 35

est avarus sibi et suis subditis est bonus. Perses vero Persians. asserentes contrarium et contradicentes Indis et Ytalicis dixerunt, nichil valet rex qui non est largus sibi et subditis suis. Set inter omnes, judicio meo, pejor est ille et merito The worst kind of king. reprobandus qui est largus sibi et avarus subditis, quia regnum ejus cito destructur.

Oportet itaque nos subtiliter inquirere de istis virtutibus et viciis, et ostendere quid sit largitas et quid avaricia, et ubi est error largitatis, et quod malum sequetur ex abstinenzia largitatis. Palam siquidem est, quod qualitates multum reprobande sunt quando multum discrepant a medio.

Et scimus quod observancia largitatis multum difficilis est et ejus transgressio facilis. Et cuilibet facile est avariciam et prodigalitatem excercere, et difficile est retinere largitatem.

<sup>15</sup> Si vis largitatis virtutem acquirere, | considera posse tuum, <sup>38 a.</sup>

et tempora necessitatis, et merita hominum. Debes igitur largiri bona tua juxta posse tuum cum mensura hominibus indigentibus atque dignis. Qui igitur dat aliter peccat, et regulam transgreditur largitatis: quia qui largitur dona sua non indigentibus, nullam acquirit laudem, et quicquid datur indignis perditur. Et qui fundit ultra modum divicias suas veniet cito ad amara littora paupertatis, et assimilatur illi <sup>not the rich or unworthy.</sup>

qui gratis super se dat victoriam inimicis suis.

Qui ergo dat de bonis suis tempore necessitatis hominibus The king who gives due largesse indigentibus, talis rex est largus sibi et subditis, et ejus regnum prosperabitur, ejus mandatum observabitur. Talem regem laudaverunt antiqui, et talis dicitur virtuosus, largus, et moderatus. Qui vero fundit regni sui bona immoderate seu inordinate, et indignis dat et non indigentibus, talis est <sup>is praised by the ancients,</sup> <sup>while he who gives to the unworthy is a waster and destroyer.</sup> depopulator reipublice, destructor regni, indignus et incompetens regimini. Unde prodigus appellatur, eo quod procul a regno suo est sua providencia.

Nomen avaricie dedecet multum regem et disconvenit <sup>38 b.</sup> regie magestati. Si igitur alterutrum istorum viciorum <sup>Avarice disgraces a king.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> et suis] et largus suis MS. <sup>7</sup> Oportet] Oportet nos MS. <sup>20</sup> laudem]

Vulgata inserts ' et largiens sine tempore suo, ipse est sicut spargens aquas salsa super litus maris '

A king should  
have a prudent  
counsellor.

habuerit, scilicet, avariciam vel prodigalitatem ; si velit sibi consulere, debet cum summa diligentia providere virum unum fidelem, discretum, et electum de multis, cui debet committere res publicas disponendas, et regni divicias gubernandas.

*Capitulum sextum adhuc de hiis que pertinent largitati et declinacioni prodigalitatis et avaricie.*

A king may  
destroy himself  
and his kingdom  
by prodigality.

The glory of  
a king.

The teaching of  
Hermogenes.

Why the king-  
dom of Syria  
fell.

39 a.  
Prodigal kings  
are tempted to  
despoil their  
subjects,

and thus raise  
rebellions.

Wealth is the  
life of a kingdom.

Avoid foolish  
giving.

**O** Alexander, firmiter dico tibi quod quisquis regum superflue continuat donaciones ultra quam regnum suum possit sustinere, talis rex proculdubio destruitur, et destruit. Dico igitur iterum propter illud, quod nunquam cessavi dicere clemencie tue, quod declinacio prodigalitatis et avaricie et acquisicio largitatis est gloria regum et perennitas regnorum. Et hoc fit quando rex se abstinet et retrahit manum suam a bonis et possessionibus subditorum. Unde invenitur scriptum in preceptis magni doctoris Hermogenis quod summa et vera bonitas et claritas intellectus et plenitudo legis ac perfectionis signum est in rege abstinencia a pecuniis et possessionibus subditorum.

Que fuit causa destructionis regni Caldeorum? Nonne quia superfluitas expensarum | superrabat redditus civitatum, et sic, deficientibus redditibus et expensis reges extenderunt manus suas ad res et redditus aliorum? Subditi vero propter injuriam clamaverunt ad Deum excelsum et gloriosum, qui mittens ventum validum afflixit eos vehementer. Et insurrexit populus contra eos, et nomina eorum de terra penitus deleverunt. Et nisi Deus gloriosus eis subvenisset, et immisisset remedium quod immisit, et ventum mitigasset, destructum fuisset penitus regnum illud.

Scias itaque quod divicie sunt causa duracionis regni et vite animalis, et sunt pars vite ipsius, et non potest durare anima si talis causa destruatur. Cavendum est itaque nimis a superfluitate et superabundancia expensarum. Ut igitur temperanca et largitas acquirantur, stulta et superflua donatio est vitanda. Et de substancia largitatis et virtutis

est dimittere offensas, et non inquirere de occultis secretorum  
nec reducere ad memoriam donativa.

Sicut de genere bonorum est, et de substancia virtutum <sup>Kingly virtues enumerated.</sup>  
remunerare emeritos<sup>1</sup>, remittere injuriam, et honorandos  
5 honorare, venerari venerandos, subvenire simplicibus, suplere  
defectus | innocentium, salutantibus respondere, linguam <sup>39 b.</sup>  
reprimere, injuriam ad tempus dissimulare, et stulticiam  
stulti fugere<sup>2</sup> et ignorare.

Docui ergo te que semper solebam docere et in pectore <sup>The marrow of philosophic wisdom.</sup>  
10 tuo seminare : gero itaque fiduciam quod documentum illud  
erit in tuis viis et operibus tuis claritas semper lucens et  
sufficiens sciencia ad tua regima <sup>toto tempore vite tue.</sup>  
Verumptamen dico tibi sapienciam philosophicam ab-  
15 sequens documentum tibi. deberet sufficere in omnibus  
operibus tuis in hoc seculo et futuro.

*Capitulum 7. de intellectu et bona fama acquirenda, que  
est finis regni.*

**S**Cias itaque quod intellectus est caput regiminis, salus <sup>The praise of understanding.</sup>  
20 anime, servator virtutum, speculator viorum : in ipso  
siquidem speculamur fugienda, per ipsum eligimus eligenda :  
ipse est origo virtutum et radix omnium bonorum laudabilium  
et honorabilium.

Et primum instrumentum intellectus est desiderium bone <sup>The desire of a good name</sup>  
25 fame, quia qui vere desiderat bonam famam famosus erit  
atque gloriosus, et qui ficte desiderat, per infamiam | con- <sup>40 a.</sup>  
fundetur. Fama ergo est quod principaliter et per seipsum  
appetitur in regimine, quia regimen non appetitur propter  
se, sed propter bonam famam. Inicium ergo sapientie <sup>is the beginning of wisdom for a king.</sup>  
30 intellectus est desiderium bone fame, que per regimen et  
dominium adquiritur. Si igitur alia de causa dominium  
et regimen adquirantur (vel desiderentur), non erit fame  
adquisicio set invidie.

<sup>1</sup> emeriti sunt senes probate virtutis.

<sup>2</sup> al. fingere.

Envy at the root  
of all evils,

and the decay of  
the common  
wealth.

The wish for  
good fame

engenders all  
good things,

and strengthens  
a kingdom.

The evils that  
follow carnal  
desires

and their  
consequences

Invidia itaque generat mendacium quod est radix reprobabilium et materia viciorum. Mendacium generat detractionem: detraccio autem generat odium: odium autem generat injuriam: injuria generat pertinaciam: pertinacia generat iracundiam: iracundia generat repugnanciam: repugnancia generat inimiciciam: inimicia generat bellum: bellum vero dissolvit legem et destruit civitates; et hoc est contrarium nature. Et quod repugnat nature destruit totum opus reipublice et corpus.

Stude igitur et dilige desiderium bone fame, quoniam 10 racio per desiderium bone fame elicet veritatem. Et veritas est radix laudabilium et materia omnium bonorum, quia est contraria mendacio, et desiderium justicie generat. Justicia generat confidenciam: confidencia largitatem: largitas facit familiaritatem: familiaritas amiciciam: amicicia generat consilium et juvamen. Per hoc siquidem orbis fuit constitutus et leges hominibus constitute, et hec rationi conveniunt et nature. Patet ergo quod desiderium regiminis propter bonam famam est bonum durabile et laudabile.

### *Capitulum .8. de malis que secuntur ex carnali appetitu.* 20

**O** Alexander declina<sup>1</sup> conatus bestialium voluptatum quia corruptibiles sunt. Carnales enim appetitus inclinant<sup>2</sup> animum ad corumptibiles voluntates anime bestialis, nulla discrecione prehabita, et inde corpus corruptibile letabitur, et contrastabitur intellectus incorruptibilis. Sciendo igitur quod conatus voluptatis generat carnalem amorem: carnalis autem amor generat avariciam: avaricia generat desiderium diviciarum: desiderium diviciarum generat inverecundiam: inverecundia vero presumptionem: presumptionio infidelitatem: infidelitas latrociniū: latrociniū 30

<sup>1</sup> id est, reprime in omne appetitus.

<sup>2</sup> id est, provocant.

vituperacionem : ex qua nascitur captivitas<sup>1</sup> que dicit ad detrimentum legis et destrucionem familiaritatis et ad ruinam tocius operis : et hoc est contrarium nature.

bring men to  
shame and  
destruction.

*Capitulum .9. de regis sapiencia et religione, et intencione .* g  
*5 finali quam debet habere. |*

Primo et principaliter convenit regi quantum ad seipsum, <sup>41 a.</sup>   
ut fama sui nominis divulgetur in laudabili sapiencia, et <sup>The virtues of</sup> <sup>a king.</sup>   
quod cum suis hominibus raciocinetur sapienter, quia inde laudatur et honoratur, inde timetur ab hominibus, quando   
vident eum in sua sapiencia eloquentem esse, et in operibus prudenter agentem. Porro de levi potest sciri, et per cetera <sup>The tokens of</sup> <sup>wisdom in a</sup> <sup>king.</sup>   
signa apprehendi, an in rege sapiencia vel insipienza dominetur, quia quicunque rex supponit regnum suum divine legi dignus est regnare et honorifice dominari. Qui vero in <sup>He honours the</sup> <sup>Divine law</sup>   
servitatem redigit Dei legem, subiciens eam suo regno et imperio, transgressor est veritatis et contemptor divine legis. Qui vero contempnit divinam legem, ab hominibus <sup>or falls into con-</sup> <sup>tempt.</sup> qui sunt in lege contempnetur, quia condemnatus est in lege<sup>2</sup>.

*20 De Regis religione.*

Dico iterum quod sapientes philosophi et divinitus loquentes dixerunt quod in primis deceat regiam majestatem, obtemperare se legalibus institutis, non in ficta apparenzia set in firma et vera facti evidencia, ut cognoscant omnes ipsum Deum timere excelsum, et esse subjectum divine potencie. Tunc enim solent homines revereri et timere <sup>His people will</sup> <sup>fear him.</sup>   
regem quando vident ipsum timere | et revereri Deum. Si <sup>41 b.</sup>   
itaque tantum in apparenzia religiosum se ostendit, et in <sup>Hypocrisy</sup> <sup>cannot be hid.</sup>   
operibus sit (malidicus vel) malefactor ; cum difficile sit   
nepharia opera celari et apud populum ignorari, a Deo reprobabitur et ab hominibus contempnetur ; infamabitur ejus fama et ejus factum, diminuetur ejus imperium, diadema

<sup>1</sup> mentis, scilicet, et fame.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, Dei.

glorie sue carebit honore. Quid igitur plura dicam? Non est premium, non est thesaurus qui possit sibi redimere bonam famam.

*Capitulum .10. de honoracione religiosorum et sapientum, et de providencia et pietate et mansuetudine et discrecio-ne.*

5

A king should company with wise and religious men;

he should exercise foresight;

be slow to anger,

ready to acknowledge an error;

neither impetuous nor tardy;

he should wear the finest dress,

excelling all others;

be well-spoken, have a good voice.

**I**Nsuper condecet regem legiferos honorare, religiosos venerari, sapientes sublimare: et conferre cum eis, dubitabiles movere questiones, honeste interrogare, discrete respondere, sapienciores et nobiliores magis honorare secundum quod decet statum uniuscujusque.

10

*De regis providencia.*

Oportet insuper regem futura cogitare et futuris casibus providenter occurtere, ut possit adversa levius tollerare.

*De regis pietate, mansuetudine et discrecio-ne.*

Decet etiam regem pietatem habere, iram et motum animi retinere<sup>1</sup>, ne improvisa commocio progrediatur in actum sine deliberacione. Et decet regem errorem suum rationabiliter recognoscere et sapienter revocare, quia summa sapiencia est in rege seipsum regere. Cum ergo rex vedit aliquid bonum vel utile faciendum, faciat cum discrecio-ne, nec nimis tarde nec nimis cito, ne videatur impetuosus vel remissus.

*Capitulum .11. de ornamento regis et prerogativa et abstinentia a multiloquio et consorcio subditorum.*

**M**ULTUM convenit regie dignitati honorifice indui, et semper cum pulcro apparatu, et excellere alios in decore. Uti ergo debet caris pulcris et extraneis ornamentis. Decens est siquidem regem in quadam prerogativa alios omnes superare, ut per hec dignitas regis decoretur, potencia non ledatur, et debita reverencia tribuatur. Decet etiam regem esse facundum, affabilem, claram vocem habere, que multum prodest tempore preliorum ad exhortandum exercitum et excitandum.

<sup>1</sup> id est, reprimere.

*De regis abstinentia a multiloquio.*

O Alexander, quam speciosum est et honorificum in rege abstinere se a multiloquio, nisi necessitas hoc depositat. A king should eschew much speaking  
 Melius enim est quod aures hominum sint semper sitibunde 5 ad regis eloquia quam suis affatibus sacientur, quia saturatis auribus anima saturatur, et tunc non multum libenter audiunt regem saturantem<sup>1</sup>. or his subjects will lose their respect for him. 42 b.

*De abstinentia regis a consorcio subditorum.*

Decet eciam regem abstinere et non multum frequentare 10 consorcium subditorum, et maxime vilium personarum; He must avoid familiarity with his subjects.  
 quia nimia familiaritas hominum honoris parit contemptum.

*Capitulum .12. de consuetudine optima regum Indie, scilicet de rara eorum apparitione coram multitudo, et quod tunc debeant facere magnifica.*

15 E T propter hoc pulcra est consuetudo Indorum in dispensacione regni et ordinacione regis: qui statuerunt The custom of Indian kings.  
 quod rex semel in anno appareat coram hominibus in regali apparatu et armato exercitu, sedens nobilissime in suo dextrario, ornatus armorum pulcherrimo decoratus, et stare 20 faciunt vulgus aliquantulum a remotis, nobiles vero et barones circa ipsum. Tunc solet ardua negocia expedire, varios et preteritos rerum eventus declarare, curam et operam quam circa rem publicam fideliter gessit ostendere. Consuevit The king shows himself once a year, gives gifts, and releases prisoners.  
 illa die dona largiri, et minus reos de carceribus emancipare, 25 et graviora honera relevare, et multa pia opera excercere.

Finito sermonē sedebit rex, et protinus assurget unus de collateralibus regis principalibus, qui sapiencior et facundior omnibus aliis reputatur, et conabitur ad regis honorem et commendacionem et mandatum, gracias referens gloriose 30 Deo qui ita bene ordinavit regnum Indorum quod de tam sapiente rege patriam decoravit, quod laudabilem populum Indorum convenientem, obedientem, et unanimem confirmavit. Et post laudes divinas et commendaciones regales Then a great lord extols his rule and praises the manners of the land.

<sup>1</sup> id est, loquacem et garrulantem.

a Chapter xv. V.

convertet se ad laudem populi, enumerando bonos mores, captando benevolenciam, inducens eos exemplis et rationibus ad humilitatem et obedienciam et reverenciam et dilectionem regis. Quo facto, totus populus studebit regias laudes extollere, et sua bona opera commendare, pro regis vita 5 Deum exorare, per civitates et per familias regis opera et sapienciam enarrare. Et propter hoc docent parvos suos ab infancia et inducunt ad regis amorem et honorem, obedienciam, et timorem. Hoc igitur modo principaliter publicatur et accrescit fama regis in secreto et in aperto. 10

*De justicia regis.*

Consuevit enim tali tempore malefactores et sceleratos homines punire et de medio tollere, ut presumptoribus via nocendi precludatur et ceteri corrigantur. Solet enim tributa tali tempore alleviare, et cum mercatoribus dispensare, partem 15 eis de redditibus remittere, ipsos cum suis mercibus diligenter defendere et custodire. Et hec est causa quare multum est populosa India: illuc enim concurrunt mercatores undique, ibi bene recipiuntur, et lucrantur optime divites et pauperes, cives et forenses. Inde est quod tributa 20 regalia et redditus augmentantur.

Cavendum est itaque ab offensa et injuria mercatorum; ipsi siquidem sunt laudis latores, famam hominum ferentes per universum mundum. Unicuique ergo reddendum est quod suum est, quia et sic muniuntur civitates et multi- 25 plicantur redditus, et sic accrescent regna regis et honor et gloria, sic contremescunt et compescuntur inimici, sic vivit rex pacifice et secure.

*Capitulum .13. de appetitu et intencione regis finali, et castitate et coitu vitando.* 30

**O** Alexander noli appetere quod est corruptibile et transitorium et quod oportet te scito reliquere: para divicias incorruptibles, vitam immutabilem, vitam eternam, durabilitatem gloriosam. Dirige ergo cogitationes tuas semper in bonum, redde te virilem et gloriosum, vita vias 35

and the people  
pray for him and  
tell of his wis-  
dom;

and thus his  
fame grows  
among them.

At this time he  
punishes male-  
factors,

rewards  
merchants,

43 b.

and from this  
custom arises the  
wealth of India.

Merchants  
should not be  
injured.

Justice is the  
root of national  
prosperity.

Desire lasting  
benefits.

Avoid animal  
pleasures.

bestiales,<sup>1</sup> et leonum<sup>2</sup> et immundicias<sup>3</sup> suis, noli esse | crudelis set flexibilis ad parcendum hiis de quibus victoram 44 a. habuisti. Cogita de futuris casibus, quia nescis quid futura Think of the dies paritura sit. Noli tua desideria imitari in comescione, future and be temperate.

5 potu, coitu, et diurno sompno.

*De castitate Regis.*

Clemens imperator, noli te inclinare ad coitum mulierum, Eschew lechery. quia coitus est quedam proprietas porcorum. Que gloria est tibi si excerceas vicium irracionabilium bestiarum et 10 actus brutorum? Crede mihi indubitanter quod coitus est The evils that destruccio corporis et abreviacio vite et corrupcio virtutum, follow from it. legis transgressio, femineos mores generat, et ultimo inducit illud malum quod prediximus.<sup>4</sup>

*Capitulum .14. de regis solacio et modestia vultus et risus, 15 et de instrumentis musicis audiendis, et discreccione ejus, et de cautela optima inquirendi secreta.*

**D**Ecet imperatoriam magestatem privatos habere fideles Music is the cum quibus delectabitur, cum variis instrumentis et solace of a king. generibus organorum quando fuerit tediosus. Anima enim 20 humana naturaliter in talibus delectabitur, sensus requiescent, The effects of solicitude et curiositas evanescunt, et totum corpus vigoratur. Si tu igitur in talibus volueris | delectari; ad plus 44 b. persevera in tali vita tribus diebus vel quatuor, secundum Periodical quod tu videris expedire, et semper melius et honestius, et solace. 25 quod hoc fiat privatim.

*De cautela optima inquirendi secreta.*

Cum itaque fueris in ipso solacio, abstine te a potu, et How to know the minds of permitte eos ad libitum epotare, et finge te calefactum a vino, your familiars. quia tunc poteris multa secreta percipere et audire. Set

30 <sup>1</sup> id est, mores hominum bestialium.

<sup>2</sup> id est, crudelium et superborum.

<sup>3</sup> id est, luxuriosi et gulosi qui porcis comparantur.

<sup>4</sup> *quod prediximus* supra, scilicet, in capitulo .8. in capitulo de carnali appetitu.

hoc non fiat frequenter, set bis vel ter in anno. Et debes habere circa te, de tua familia, speciales qui tibi referant ea que fiunt et dicuntur per regnum.

*De modo honoracionis procerum.*

Cum fueris inter barones tuos, honora sapientes et quos tu 5 videris merito honorandos: tene quemlibet in suo statu: invita hodie unum et cras alium: secundum quod decet gradum uniuscujusque honora ipsum. Nullus sit de tuis nobilibus qui tuam non senciat largitatem, pateat omnibus clemencia majestatis et nobilitas animi liberalis. 10

*De modestia vultus, et precipue de risu.*

Decet itaque regem discretionem et continenciam habere, et a risu multum abstinere, quia frequens risus tollit reverenciam et generat senectutem.

*De loco honoracionis regis et procerum suorum.* 15

Insuper scire debes quod magis (tenentur homines regem, vel) rex tenetur homines | in sua honorare curia et suo consorcio quam alibi, quia tunc sua interest.

*Capitulum .15. de punicione injuriancum et de conversacione regis ad subditos ut eum ament.* 20

**S**i quis facit aliquam injuriam, puniendus est secundum qualitatem sue persone, ut terreatur alii et discant ab injuriis abstinere; et aliter puniendus est nobilis et excelsus, aliter popularis et abjectus. Bonum ergo est rigorem et continenciam observare, ut sit inter regem et subditos 25 distinctio personarum. Nam scriptum est in libro Esculapii quod ille rex est laudabilis et amandus qui assimilatur aquile dominanti inter aves, et non ille qui assimilatur uni avium subjectarum. Si quis igitur in curia vel in presencia regie magestatis presumat injuriam perpetrare vel offensam inferre, 30 considerandum est quo animo illud facit, aut ludendo ut tibi complaceat et animos ad gaudia provocet, an in contemptum et dedecus tue dignitatis. Si primo modo, leviter corrigitur; si vero secundo modo, morte moriatur.

Distribute your favours among your nobles.

Abstain from immoderate mirth.

A king is most honoured in his own court.

45 a.

Offenders are to be punished with respect to their persons.

Aesculapius likens a king to an eagle.

The treatment of contempt of

*De obediencia subditorum erga regem per conversionem eorum ad ipsum.*

O Alexander obedienciam dominacionis (vel dominatoris) quatuor modis attendimus, scilicet | in religiositate, dilectione, curialitate, et reverencia. O Alexander, converte ad te animas subditorum, tolle injurias et injusticias ab eis. Noli dare hominibus contra te materiam obloquendi, quia vulgus dicit mala de levi, et quando de jure potest dicere, de facto leviter potest facere. Contine te ergo ita ut nichil contra te possit dicere, et per hoc evitabis eorum facere. Insuper scias quod discrecio maturitatis est gloria dignitatis, et reverencia domini est exaltacio regis et regni. Summa igitur prudencia est et providencia laudabilis, ut tua reverencia cohabitetur in cordibus subditorum magis quam dileccio.

*Capitulum .16. de comparacione regis ad pluviam et ventos et hyemem et estatem.*

**L**egitur quod rex est in regno sicut pluvia in terra, que est Dei gracia, celi benedictio, terre vita, vivencium juvamentum et munimentum, quia per pluviam paratur<sup>1</sup> iter mercatoribus, auxilium edificantibus et solacium. At tamen in pluviis sunt aeris tonitrua, et | fulmina cadunt, inundant flumina, torrentes intumescunt, furiunt maria, et multa alia mala eveniunt, per que multa vivencia pereunt. Verumtamen accidencia mala non impedit quin laudent homines Deum gloriosum in sua magestate, considerantes signa sue gracie dona misericordie, quia per pluviam vivificant nascencia, vegetabilia pullulant, et cunctis virtutibus infunditur benedictio. Et ideo referunt homines laudes Deo, et oblisiscuntur mala preterita que supervenerunt.

Et exemplum regis convenit exemplo ventorum quos

<sup>1</sup> et precipue in terris calidis et tempore calido, ut valeant mutare loca per mitigationem caloris in omni loco, vel intendit propter navigationem tantum.

The four grounds of obedience.

Conquer the goodwill of your subjects.

Rather be feared than loved.

Kings are  
likened to the  
wind.  
The bounties of  
the winds.

The evils they  
cause.

God orders the  
course of the  
winds

out of His  
mercy.

Kings are  
likened to  
summer and  
winter

whose incon-  
veniences are  
often lasting  
benefits in dis-  
guise.

Help all those  
in evil case.

Bacon instances  
the S. winds from  
Africa, &c.

Deus excelsus emittit et extendit de thesauro sue misericordie, et per ipsos educit nubem, et crescent segetes, arborum fructus maturantur et resumunt vires cum aqua desiderata recipitur, via navigantibus aperitur, et multa alia bona secuntur. Ex ventis tamen impedimenta et diversa pericula inferuntur, tam in mari quam in terra, dolores extrinsecos ad interiora cordium inducunt, divicias hominum in procellis dissipant et dispergunt, per eos 46 b. corup|ciones aeris generantur, venena mortifera nutriuntur<sup>1</sup> et multa alia inconveniencia consecuntur. Et tamen implorant inferiores creature clemenciam Creatoris ut tollat ab eis ista mala. Ipse nichilominus ventos deducere sustinet cursum suum retinere et ordinem quem statuit eis, quia cuncta sua sapientia equali pondere et certo numero et ordine destinavit et statuit servis suis ea ut serviant. Et hoc exigit 15 ex immensa sua misericordia et inenarrabili bonitate.

Hec siquidem parabola est in hyeme et estate quoniam frigora et calores summa providencia inevitabiliter et immutabiliter stabilivit ad generacionem propagationem et durabilitatem rerum temporalium et naturalium. Cum tamen 20 multa inconveniencia et pericula mortalia eveniunt ex frigore hyemis et calore estatis, sic et accidit in rege; multa siquidem solent ab ipso comoda provenire et que 47 a. suis subditis displicant, et moleste feruntur | cum tamen in eis maxima utilitas immineatur. 25

*Capitulum .17. de subvencione egenorum et regis provisoria contra famam futuram.*

**O** Alexander, indaga de inopia et necessitate miserationum personarum et debilium; subveni indigentibus

<sup>1</sup> Sive mittuntur de regionibus venenatis per abundanciam animalium venenosorum, sicut sepe accidit quod ex Africa per ventos deportati sunt pulveres animalium venenosorum jam mortuorum ad regiones citra mare, et similiter vapores venenosii multiplicati ab animalibus vivis venenosis, sicud Virgilius 3º *Georgicorum* et Servius ibidem, et Plinius et Historie scribunt multipliciter contigisse.

in sua indigencia de tua clemencia ; elige tibi homines scientes eorum linguam et eloquentes, justiam amantes, qui vicem tuam suplere valeant, et eos misericorditer amare et regere. In hoc est regis observancia, hominum leticia beneplacitum Creatoris.

*De regis providencia contra famem futuram.*

O Alexander, thesauriza tibi multum de leguminibus et granis utilibus ad vescendum, ut terre tue sufficient in tempore famis et indigencie, ut cum venerit, sicut solet accidere in annis famis et inopie, valeat tuis hominibus tua providencia subvenire, et in tempore necessitatis succurere civitatibus. Tunc debes aperire celaria tua et publicare per regnum et civitates frumenta et grana thesaurizata.

Hec est magna cautela, maxima providencia, munimentum regni, salus populi, custodia civitatum. Tunc enim penetrabit tuum preceptum, tunc prosperabit tuum factum et fama, et de tua pulchra providencia gaudebunt et vivent cum fiducia universi. Tunc scient omnes quod oculi tui procul videant.<sup>1</sup> Propter hoc appreciabuntur tuam clemenciam, et timebunt tuam offendere magestatem.

*Capitulum .18. de regis misericordia, quod rex non sit facilis ad effusionem sanguinis.*

O Alexander frequenter monui te et adhuc moneo quod meam custodias doctrinam, quam si servaris, tuum proximum consequeris et regnum tuum durabile permanebit. Noli igitur sanguinem humani generis per te effundere, quoniam hoc soli Deo convenit, qui novit occulta cordium et secreta hominum. Noli tibi assumere divinum officium, quia non est tibi datum scire archanum divinum. Cave igitur quantum potes effundere sanguinem hominum, quia doctor egregius Hermogines scripsit, dicens : Quando creatura interficit creaturam sibi similem, ut homo hominem,

<sup>1</sup> id est, sunt providi et prevident utilitates regni contra mala futura.

Lay up great store of grain and food against time of scarcity;

in this shall your foresight be known and praised.

Do not shed blood;

God alone has his prerogative,

The saying of Hermogenes.

*The Virtues of Heaven city for vengeance on the manslayer,*

virtutes celorum clamabunt ad divinam magestatem dicentes Domino : Domine, servus Tuus vult esse Tibi similis. Quia si injuste interficitur, respondet Creator excelsus : Perimite eum qui interficit quia ipse interficietur : Mihi vindictam et

*until vengeance is done on him.*

48 a. Ego retribuam.<sup>1</sup> | Et tociens in suis laudibus virtutes celorum 5 representabunt mortem interficiendi donec vindicta sumatur ab interficiente, qui erit unus de perseveratoribus in penis eternis.

*Capitulum decimum novum de fidilitate servanda secundum exemplum antiquorum, et quod rex debet esse memor pre- 19 toriorum.*

*Be guided by the deeds of your ancestors.*

**O** Alexander de omnibus penis habes (vel habeas) noticiam : multa genera malorum experimento didicisti, reducas ad memoriam gesta parentum et annales parentum, et actus antiquorum patrum discute. Inde poteris multa 15 bona exempla extrahere. Facta omnia preterita dabunt certa documenta in futuris. Minorem ne contempnas, quia minor et vilis poterit, sicut solet accidere, ad honores et divicias pervenire, et tunc erit valencior et potencior ad nocendum.

*Do not despise the humble:*

*they may become powerful.*

*Keep faith.*

**O** clementissime Imperator, cave ne infringas datam fidem 20 et federa confirmata, quoniam hoc convenit infidelibus, juvenibus, et meretricibus. Serva fideliter promissam fidem, quoniam omnem infidelitatem consequitur finis malus. Et si in federa fringendo aliquid boni eveniat, tamen quando ipsa species mala est, exemplum erit reprobum, et de genere 25 malorum.

*The benefits of faith-breaking are evil.*

**1** Considerandum est quod Aristotiles et ceteri magni philosophi legerunt Vetus Testamentum et edocti sunt a prophetis et ceteris sapientibus Hebreis ; et hoc dicit Aristotiles postea. Unde non est mirum quod hic accipit auctoritatem Ysaie et alibi in hoc 30 libro, et in niorali philosophia accepit documenta Salomonis et aliorum. Sic enim Plato usus est illo *Exodi* : ‘Ego sum qui sum ;’ et Avicenna in .10. *Methaphysice* accepit auctoritates Scripturæ.

<sup>20</sup> Chapter xxvi. *V.*    <sup>30</sup> The reference is to Is. lix. 18, but the quotation is from Rom. xii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Permite] Permitte MS.

Scias itaque quod per fidem fit hominum congregacio, 48 b.  
 civitatum inhabitacio, virorum communio, regis dominacio ; Human society  
 per fidem castra tenentur, civitates servantur, reges dominantur. Si quidem tollas fidem, cuncti homines ad statum exists by faith-  
 5 pristinum revertentur, videlicet ad instar brutorum et and dissolves in  
 similitudinem bestiarum.

Cave tibi, rex fidelissime, infringere datam fidem et serva  
 firmiter juramenta tua et federa etsi sint gravia. Nescis The sayings of  
 10 quod, teste Hermogine, duo sunt spiritus qui te custo- Hermogenes.  
 diunt, quorum unus est ad dextram et alius ad sinistram Two guardian  
 custodientes et scientes opera tua cuncta, et rescribentes spirits of every  
 Creatori quicquid discreveris faciendum ? In veritate solum man.  
 15 hoc deberet te et quemlibet retrahere ab omni opere  
 in honesto.

Quis te compulit tam frequenter jurare ? Non est hoc swear not, but  
 20 faciendum sine magna necessitate. Rex vero nisi multus in utmost need.  
 rogatus et frequenter requisitus non debet jurare ; nescis  
 quod non convenit regie dignitati et derogat honori quando  
 25 juras ? Subditorum enim est et servorum jurare. Si quidem  
 queras que fuit causa destruccionis regni Ambasoyorum et Kingdoms ruined  
 Scitarum, responderem tibi, quia reges eorum utebantur by cause of  
 49 a. juramentis ad fraudem et deceptionem hominum | et proxima- oath-breaking.  
 marum civitatum, frangentes federa stabilita ad salutem  
 humani generis et utilitatem. Iniqui illi et infideles abute-  
 25 bantur juramentis ad subversionem proximorum et ideo which God  
 equitas justissima Summi Judicis non potuit eos amplius punished.  
 sustinere.

O doctissime Alexander, scire te volo quod in ordinacione There are special  
 imperii et regiminis sunt quedam documenta specialissima rules for the  
 30 valde moralia pertinencia tibi quantum ad propriam familiam governance of  
 et quantum ad communem populum regendum, set non a king's house-  
 habent locum hic. Set tamen tradam tibi ea in certo loco hold,  
 libri hujus et erunt tibi documenta salutaria abbreviata et which shall be  
 valde utilia, in quorum observancia prosperabis, Domino set down later.  
 35 concedente.

*Capitulum vicesimum quod non est dolendum de adversis  
preteritis quia mutari non possunt, et de studiis sapientie  
ordinandis et de scolis et studiis preparandis.*

Don't grieve  
over things past.

The advance-  
ment of learning.

49 b. Children are to  
be forced to  
study.

Students are to  
be rewarded,

and they will  
spread your  
fame.

What has made  
Greece so  
famous?

It was the dili-  
gence of her  
students:

even girls were  
learned,

50 a. familias ex nimio studio sciebat cursum | anni et astrorum,

<sup>1</sup> id est, loca ubi fiunt exercicia, et hic accipitur pro exercicio studencium et hoc statim exponit.

<sup>2</sup> vel, promitte.

<sup>3</sup> Nota hic mirabilem sapientiam quam reges antiqui adimple- 30  
verunt quia fuerunt instructi in philosophia, set nunc ut Henricus

49 b. filius | Willelmi regis qui dicebatur 'bastardus' solebat dicere patri et fratribus, 'Rex illiteratus est asinus coronatus.'

7 Chapter xxviii. I.

26 At foot of f. 49 b: quod clerici ignorantes astronomiam sunt vituperandi nisi addiscant'.

festa futura, solemnitates mensium, cursum planetarum, and knew the  
causas abreviacionis diei et noctis et revolucionis planetarum course of  
astronomy.  
Plyades et Boetes, brevitates circulorum dierum, signa  
stellarum indicancia futurorum, et alia infinita que pertinent  
5 ad judicium futurorum et artem superiorum. Quam vile How shameful  
igitur est quod famosi et senes in studio ignorant hec que it is for great  
puelle solebant scire. men to be ignorant.

*Capitulum .21. de cavendis mulieribus et venenis et ab  
omni immundicia.*

10 **O** Alexander, nunquam confidas in operibus et serviciis Never put con-  
mulierum ne committas te illis. Et si necessitas exigit, fidence in women,  
illi te committas que fidelis et dilecta creditur esse tibi,  
quia dum mulier tractat tuam personam, scias te esse quasi  
quoddam dispositum et commissum apud eam, quia in suis  
15 manibus est vita tua. nor put your life  
in their hands lightly.

*De cavendis venenis.*

Cave, cave mortifera venena, non enim incipiunt homines Beware of  
de novo venenare: notum est quoniam<sup>1</sup> multitudo regum poison: many  
vel dominorum aliorum anticipaverunt diem mortis, et kings have died  
20 occubuerunt<sup>2</sup> pocionibus venenorum.

O Alexander, in uno medico non confidas: quoniam Trust not in one  
unus medicus potens est | ad nocendum et de facili audet 50 b.  
nephias presumere et scelus deducere<sup>3</sup> ad effectum. Si but have a  
itaque potest fieri quod sint decem non sint minus, set fac number,  
25 eos omnes convenire in unum. Et si sumenda fuerit cum and let them  
medicina, noli sumerenisi de consilio plurimorum. Et act in consulta-  
res medicinales debeant adquiri, debes habere fidelem<sup>4</sup> The choice of an  
virum cognoscentem genera specierum et qualitates, qui apothecary.  
debet omnia que sunt necessaria in compositione colligere

30 <sup>1</sup> vel, quanta.

<sup>2</sup> aliter, et hoc attribuerunt.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, dare venenosa. •

<sup>4</sup> Qualis debet esse herbarius vel apothecarius.

de consilio medicorum cum certo pondere et mensura, et potum conficere sicut decet.

O Alexander recole factum regine Indorum, quando tibi mandavit causa amicicie multa xennia<sup>1</sup> et dona venusta, inter que missa fuit illa venustissima puella que ab infancia imbuta et nutrita fuit veneno serpentum, ita quod de sua natura conversa fuit in naturam serpentum. Et nisi ego illa hora diligenter inspexisse in ipsam, et arte judicassem de puella, eo quod ita audacter et horribiliter et incessabiliter et inverecunde suum figebat visum in facie hominum, pendi siquidem quod interficeret homines solo morsu vel visu, quod tu experimento post probavisti. Et nisi hoc certissime tibi ostendissem, mors tua fuisset in ardore coitus illius consecuta.

*De mundicia anime.*

O Alexander, serva tuam nobilissimam animam superiorem et angelicam, quia comendata est tibi non ut de honestetur set ut glorietur. Non sis<sup>2</sup> de condicione et genere immundorum<sup>3</sup> set de numero sapientum.

**h**

*Capitulum .22. de regimine vite per astronomiam.*

Do nothing but  
by counsel of  
Astronomy.

God has made  
nothing in vain.

Plato knew the  
composition of  
all things.

The proper  
form of the word  
xennium.

O Rex clementissime, si fieri potest, non surgas nec sedeas nec comedas nec bibas et nichil penitus facias sine consilio viri periti in arte astrorum. Scias itaque<sup>4</sup> pro certo quod nichil fecit gloriosus Deus vacuum nec ociosum in naturis, set omnia sunt facta probabili ex causa et certissima ratione. Et per istam viam et inquisitionem cognovit peritissimus doctor noster Plato naturam parcum compositarum rerum ex contrariis qualitatibus et coloribus

<sup>1</sup> xennium est nomen Grecum quod in omnibus veracibus libris habetur, tam in textu sacro quam in philosophia et jure, unde quod preponitur e in prima sillaba dicendo exennia, nichil est et fictum a glomerellis quia ignorant Grecum.

<sup>2</sup> vel, sit.

<sup>3</sup> spirituum, scilicet.

<sup>4</sup> vel, utique.

in sua generacione per comparacionem<sup>1</sup> ad res compositas,  
et per hoc habuit scienciam de sideribus<sup>2</sup> comatis<sup>3</sup>.

Ne adhibeas fidem dictis insipientium qui dicunt scienciam planetarum difficilem esse quod nemo poterit ad illam per-  
5 venire; isti nesciunt quid dicunt, quia apud potentiam intellectus nichil est difficile et cuncta sunt scibilia in via racionis. Sunt et alii non minus | stulti qui dicunt Deum  
cuncta previdisse et preordinasse ab eterno: unde dicunt  
non prodest futura precognoscere ex quo debent necessario  
10 evenire; quid igitur valet sciencia stellarum? illi similiter male errant.

Do not believe those who say Astrology is too difficult to learn,

Dico ergo quod licet quedam sint necessario ventura, tamen si prescantur levius tollerantur, prudencius declinantur, et sic quodammodo evitantur, quia eo ipso quod  
15 futura sint in mea noticia et previsa, quando accidunt recipiuntur provide et discrete, transeunt sine molestia et sine maxima lesione. Verbi gratia, quando hyems speratur nimis frigida, homines preparant hospicia calida, provident tegumenta, carbones et ligna adquirunt, et de aliis multis  
20 se premuniunt, et propter hoc, veniente hyeme et frigore, non leduntur. Hoc etiam faciunt in estivo calore, quia per frigida cibaria et species rerum evadunt fervorem estatis.

or others who say it is useless to know the future: we cannot alter it.

Similiter quando prescire possunt annos famis et indi-  
25 gencie, per conservacionem frumentorum et rerum aliarum providenciam minus moleste ac levius sustinent tempus famis et indigencie. Confert ergo multum | futura prescire,  
quia melius declinare mala possunt homines quando ventura precognoscunt; nam et Destinatorem excelsum tunc precibus  
30 implorare debent quod per suam clemenciam ab eis futura mala avertat et aliter ordinet. Non enim ita predestinavit quod in aliquo sue potencie derogaret. Possunt siquidem homines divinam clemenciam deprecari oracionibus, de-  
vacionibus, precibus, jejuniis, serviciis, sacrificiis, elemosinis,

Some things are indeed inevitable, but others can be guarded against.

When we know winter is coming, we prepare for it.

35      <sup>1</sup> aliter, in comparacione.

<sup>2</sup> de ydeis et rebus.

<sup>3</sup> vel, formatis.

when we expect a famine, we lay up store of food;

so, if the stars tell of evil to come, we may pray for God's pity.

et multis aliis bonis, de commissis veniam implorantes, de reatibus penitentes, et tunc verissime<sup>1</sup> est quod Deus omnipotens avertet ab eis quod trepidant et formidant. Redeamus ergo ad inceptum sermonem.

Sciendum ergo quod astronomia dividitur in tres partes, <sup>5</sup> videlicet, in ordinacionem celorum et sperarum, et in dispositionem planetarum et divisionem signorum et eorum elongacionem et de suis motibus, et ista pars Astronomie vocatur Sciencia. Secunda pars est de qualitate et modo cognoscendi motum firmamenti, ortum signorum super <sup>10</sup> rebus empericis <sup>2</sup> antequam fiant sub firmamento Lune,<sup>3</sup> et hec secunda pars dicitur Astronomia sive Sciencia Judiciorum. Et dignior pars astronomie est sciencia de tribus rebus, scilicet, | de speris, planetis, et signis. Scias<sup>4</sup> igitur quod fixi planete sunt .1022. de quibus meam tibi in <sup>15</sup> quadam parte libri hujus ad plenum tradam doctrinam.<sup>5</sup>

*Explicit pars prima hujus libri de regum varietate et moribus et regimine.*

<sup>1</sup> vel, verisimile.

<sup>2</sup> aliter, entibus.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. sub Luna que est in firmamento.

<sup>4</sup> Sciendum quod hec pars Astronomie non est adhuc translata, et loquitur de illis stellis tantum, quantum quantitas potest sciri per instrumenta astronomic, quia alie sunt innumerabiles.

<sup>5</sup> Sciendum ergo quod infideles philosophi non invenerunt hanc <sup>25</sup> scienciam nec alias partes Mathematice, ut Geometriam et Arithmeticam, nec alias sciencias, set Deus dedit eas suis sanctis et justis Hebreis, a quibus omnes philosophi infideles habuerunt omnium scienciarum principia, ut dicit capitulo primo secunde partis hujus libri. Nam Josephus dicit, primo libro *Antiquitatum*, quod Deus <sup>30</sup> filiis Ade in secunda generacione per Seth dedit eis vivere per sexcentos annos propter glorioas sciencias in quibus studuerunt, videlicet, Geometriam et Astronomiam. Et Noee et filii ejus et Habraam docuerunt illas sciencias post diluvium. Nam Noee et progenitus ejus Sem docuerunt Astronomiam primo in Babilonia, <sup>35</sup> scilicet, in terra illa post diluvium, ut docet Albumazar .6. libro *Introductorio in Astronomiam*, et cum eis maxime primogenitus Sem, sicut dicitur in prologo *Compositionis Astrolabii* Ptolomei.

The three divisions of Astronomy:

(1) The ordinance of the heavens and stars. The Science of Astronomy.

(2) The knowledge of the rising and setting of signs. The Science of Judgements.

(3) The Science of the Spheres.

52 b.

The number of fixed stars.

The sciences were discovered by the Jews.

Seth.

Noah.

Babel.

Et Habraam, testante Josepho, descendit in Egypum et docuit Abraham took  
Egiptios Arithmeticam et Astronomiam, et Moyses fuit peritus in them to Egypt.  
omni sciencia sive sapientia Egiptiorum, ut dicitur septimo capitulo Actuum, et Salomon de omnibus philosophatus est, et nullam Solomon.  
5 naturam indisciplinatam reliquit, sicut dicit Josephus octavo Antiquitatum libro. Et Moyses docuit verum motum Lune et Moses.  
Solis, et conjunciones et oppositiones propter sacrificia legis,  
et multa alia nobilia. Propter igitur ista, non est mirum si philosophi qui omnes habuerunt sciencias ab Hebreis, ut patet ex dictis  
10 et evidencius in sequenti parte libri hujus, statim in principio potuerunt loqui certitudinaliter de certitudine scienciarum quam docuerunt sapientissimi Hebrei, qui a Deo receperunt omnes sciencias, et dedit eis multos centenarios annorum vivere ut experirentur eas.

*Incipit pars secunda hujus libri de regimine sanitatis cuius capitulum primum est de ortu tocius sapientie.*

Keeping of health is more precious than medicine.

Health comes from equality of complexions or attemperance of the humours.

God revealed the method of obtaining this

to the saints,

from whom ancient philosophers learnt it,

the Greeks above all.

**N**unc vero prius tibi tradere volo doctrinam medicinalem et quedam secreta que tibi sufficient in conservacione sanitatis, ut non indigeas aliquo

53 a. medico, quia conservacio sanitatis et salutis melior est | et preciosior omni medicina, et valde tibi sunt necessaria ad regimen hujus mundi.

Sciendum est itaque quod non est via ad aliquam rem faciendam vel aliquam causam adquirendam nisi per potentiam clari intellectus, et non est potencia nisi per sanitatem, et non est sanitas nisi per equalitatem complexionum, et non est equalitas complexionis nisi per temperanciam humorum. Et Deus excelsus et gloriosus ordinavit modum et remedium ad temperanciam humorum et conservanciam sanitatis et ad plurima alia adquirenda, et revelavit ea sanctis prophetis servis suis et justis prophetis suis, et quibusdam aliis quos preelegit et illustravit spiritu divine sapientie, et dotavit eos dotibus sciencie.

Ab istis sequentes viri philosophi philosophie principatum et originem habuerunt: Indi et Perses et Greci et Latini ab istis hauserunt, et scripserunt artium et scienciarum principia et secreta, quia in scripturis eorum<sup>1</sup> nichil falsum, nichil reprobum invenitur, set a sapientibus approbatum. Qui enim sibi ipsi causa perdicionis est, multo forcius aliis causam perdicionis prestabit, quia illud eligimus quod amamus, et illud querimus quod intendimus. Scire tamen debes quod Deus excelsus inter ceteros philosophos Grecos magis inflammavit ad sciencias inquireendas et rerum |

53 b. naturalium genera cognoscenda. De hoc tibi alias fecimus

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<sup>1</sup> vel, ipsorum.

fideim, unde secundum ipsos proposuimus in hoc libro, They will be followed in this book. Domino concedente, procedere et determinare.

*Capitulum .2. de equalitate servanda in omnibus, scilicet, in cibo et potu et aliis que enumerat.*

5 **C**Onvenerunt itaque sapientes philosophi naturales quod homo est compositus ex oppositis elementis et ex contrariis quatuor humoribus, qui semper indiget alimentis et pacionibus: quibus si caret, corruptetur ejus substancia. et si hiis uteretur superflue vel diminute, incurreret infirmitatem, debilitatem, et alia inconveniencia multa. Si vero utatur temperate, inveniet juvamen vite, corporis fortitudinem, et tocius sue substancie salutem. Convenerunt igitur unanimiter quod qui transgreditur debitum modum, in pleno<sup>1</sup> et vacuo<sup>2</sup>, et in sompno et vigilia, in motu et quiete, 10 in dissolucione vel retencione ventris, in subtraccione vel detencion esanguinis, non poterit evadere (egritudines seu) egritudinum furores et molestias infirmitatum. de quibus omnibus tractaturus sum, sub congrua brevitate tradendo doctrinam certissimam de generibus egritudinum | et de 54 a. 15 remediiis eorumdem.

Convenerunt itaque universi quod qui cavet sibi a superfluitate et indigencia conservando equalitatem et temperanciam, iste participat<sup>3</sup> sanitatem salutiferam et longitudinem dierum. Ego siquidem non inveni aliquem 20 philosophorum ab hac sentencia discrepantem (vel dispare), videlicet, quod omnia delectabilia hujus mundi, sive sint delicie sive divicie sive honores sive voluptates, universa sunt propter durabilitatem. Qui igitur appetit vivere ac

Man is composed of four humours and opposite elements.

His nourishment should be temperate.

Who overpasses the mean shall fall into sickness,

for which the remedies will be taught.

Who keeps the mean shall have good health and long life.

Durability is the essence of pleasure.

<sup>1</sup> id est, nimia replecione cibi et potus.

30 <sup>2</sup> id est, in defectu cibi et potus.

<sup>3</sup> vel, percipiet.

3 Chapter xxxiii. V.

1 At top of p. 53 b:

Accidens anime motus inanicio vigilia  
‘Accidit, esca, quies, aer, replecio, sompnus, .6. res non naturales quibus impossibile est hominem non approximare.’

3 In marg. ‘C<sup>m</sup> .2. quomodo sanitas conservatur.’

The six ‘non-naturals’.

durare, studiat adquirere que durabilitati<sup>1</sup> convenient et vitam conservant, et renunciet desideriis proprie voluntatis, nec comeditionem comeditionibus superaddat.

Hippocrates  
to his disciples:

Audivi de Ypocrate quod conservabat dietas sibi, pro quibus debilitatem in corpore sustinebat. Cui dixit suus discipulus: Doctor egregie, si velles bene comedere, non sustineres tantam corporis debilitatem. Respondit Ypocras et dixit: Fili, ego volo comedere ut vivam, non vivere ut comedam. Alimentum enim propter durabilitatem queren-

I eat to live, not  
live to eat.

Men who become  
abstinent are in  
better health:

witness the  
Arabs.

54 b. dum est, non durabilitas propter alimentum. | Multos sane novi qui dum vixerunt diminuerunt de alimento et comedione, abstinentes se a suis appetitibus, parcentes gule et viventes temperate per dietas, qui fuerunt propter hoc sanissimi corporis, melioris operacionis, longioris vite, et boni appetitus et levioris motus: et hoc est manifestum in 15 Arabibus et sepe euntibus per deserta et itinera longa. Hoc est manifestum argumentum quod abstinere a nimia comedione et superfluitatem purgare est summa medicina.

*Capitulum .3<sup>m</sup>. de conservacione sanitatis secundum complexionis qualitatem et temporis, sive de cibacione et potacione 20 secundum complexionem cuiuslibet et secundum tempora.*

Two things  
preserve health

(1) food fitting  
his age and  
habits;

(2) purging  
superfluous and  
corrupt humours.

O Alexander, in medicina continetur certissimum et verissimum documentum, quia conservacio sanitatis in duobus principaliter consistit. Primum est quod homo utatur cibis convenientibus sue etati et tempori in quo est 25 et consuetudini sue nature, videlicet, ut utatur cibis et potibus quibus consuevit nutritiri, et quibus suam substanciam confirmavit. Secundum est quod purget se ab eo quod generatur ex superfluitate et corruptis humoribus. Sciendum est igitur quod corpora hominum que sunt 30

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19 Chapter xxxiv. V.

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<sup>1</sup> 'propter illud quere librum fratri Rogeri Bacun de retardacione accidencia senectutis et prolongacione vite', *in marg. later hand.*

receptibilia cibi et potus diminuntur et resolvuntur, tam <sup>55 a.</sup>  
 ipsa corpora recipiencia quam ipsa alimenta recepta, ita <sup>The body is</sup>  
 quod resolvuntur in primis per calorem naturalem qui <sup>continually</sup>  
 desiccat humiditatem corporum et nutritur ac pascitur <sup>losing substance:</sup>  
<sup>(1) by its natural</sup>  
 eadem humiditate: resolvuntur eciam per calorem solis et <sup>(2) by the sun</sup>  
 venti qui desiccant humiditatem omnium corporum et <sup>and wind.</sup>  
 pascuntur ex humiditate tam corporum quam fluminum.  
 Quando igitur est corpus calidum vaporabile, valent <sup>If the body is</sup>  
 grossa cibaria, quoniam illud quod resolvitur et emititur <sup>hot and moist</sup>  
 de tali corpore erit nutrimentum multe quantitatis et grosse <sup>gross meat is</sup>  
 substancie, propter nimium calorem et vaporem corporis.  
 Quando vero corpus est densum et siccum, valent subtilia <sup>if dense and dry,</sup>  
 et humida cibaria, quoniam quod dissolvitur de tali corpore <sup>light and moist</sup>  
 est parve quantitatis propter suos strictos meatus. Certum <sup>food is better.</sup>  
 itaque est documentum ad conservandam sanitatem ut <sup>A man must take</sup>  
 homo utatur cibis convenientibus sue complexione in sua <sup>food suitable to</sup>  
 sanitatem; verbi gratia: Si quis est calide nature, convenient <sup>his complexion:</sup>  
 sibi calida cibaria temperata; si vero est frigide nature, con- <sup>if hot, warm</sup>  
 veniunt frigida temperata; idem penitus dico in <sup>temperate food,</sup>  
 sicco corpore. Si igitur calor augmentatur et inflammatur <sup>if frigid, cold</sup>  
 nimia inflam|macione, aut propter calida cibaria aut propter <sup>temperate food;</sup>  
 calorem extraneum vincentem et dominantem, tunc opposita  
 et contraria juvant, scilicet frigida.

### *Declinancia ultra temperanciam.*

Et cum stomacus calidus fuerit fortis et bonus, tali <sup>to a strong</sup>  
 stomaco meliora sunt grossa cibaria et forcia, quia talis <sup>stomach, strong</sup>  
 stomacus est quasi validus ignis potens comburere multa  
 grossa ligna. Quando vero stomacus est frigidus et <sup>meats;</sup>  
 debilis, tali meliora sunt subtilia et leviora, quia talis <sup>to a weak</sup>  
 stomachus comparatur igni comburenti cannas et subtilia  
 ligna.

### *De signis boni stomachi.*

Signa itaque boni stomachi sunt hec: levitas corporis, <sup>The signs of</sup>

<sup>1</sup> vel, de.

<sup>32</sup> Chapter xxxv. V.

<sup>18</sup> est<sup>7</sup> est est MS.

a good and of an evil stomach.

claritas intellectus, bonus appetitus. Signa vero mali stomachi et debilis digestionis sunt hec: gravitas corporis, mollices, pigrities, inflammacio faciei, oris frequens apercio<sup>1</sup>, gravitas oculorum, turpis et mala eructuacio (quando, scilicet, eructat acre vel acerbum vel amarum vel aquosum insipidum aut fetidum), et propter hoc generantur ventositates et inflammaciones ventris, et diminuitur appetitus. Si vero res

56 a. est in majori quantitate, proveniunt ex hoc extensiones | extremitatum, excreciones, reflexiones membrorum, tremores corporis, aperciones oris, et quedam alia mala que omnino sunt contraria sanitati, destructiva corporis, corruptiva nature. Debes igitur te ipsum, clementissime, diligenter conservare ab inconvenientibus supradictis.

## k

*Capitulum .4. de hiis que pertinent ad regimen sanitatis post sompnum nocturnum ante horam preparacionis ad cibum sumendum.*

The secrets of medicine are here set down,

for no physician should know all the illnesses of a king.

By the use of this book you can cure yourself in all ordinary cases.

What to do when one rises: walk about, stretch, and comb the hair;

56 b.

Cum hoc corpus corruptibile sit, eique accidit corrupcio ex opposicione complexionum et humorum qui sunt in eo, visum est mihi in presenti opere tibi scribere quedam utilia et omnino necessaria ex secretis artis medicine, quibus contentus fueris<sup>2</sup>, et maxime cum sit honestum ut non appareant medico cuncte infirmitates regis. Si autem diligenter hoc exemplar inspexeris et juxta hunc modum et ordinem preciosum vixeris et conversatus fueris, medico non indigebis exceptis accidentibus plagis et actionibus, bellicis percussionibus, et ceteris hujusmodi que omnino vitari non possunt.

Igitur, O Alexander, cum a sompno surrexeris modicum debes ambulare et membra tua equaliter extendere, et tuum | caput pectere, quia ambulacio temperata et membrorum extensio corroborant corpus et virtutem spiritualem et naturalem confortant et vapores digestionis expellunt, et

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, ocitacio.

<sup>2</sup> vel, sis.

capitis pectinacio extrahit vapores ad capud ascendentes tempore dormicionis a stomacho, et educit. In estate lavare cum aqua frigida manus et faciem, os, dentes, et capud ; in hyeme autem calida, quia hoc constringit et retinet calorem corporis et capitum evaporantem. Hoc erit quasi excitatio desiderii comedendi. Deinde induere vestimenta optima et ornata pulcherrimo apparatu<sup>1</sup> et aspectu, quia animus tuus naturaliter multum delectabitur<sup>2</sup> in hujusmodi pulcritudine et aspectu, et virtus splendide vestis in te confirmabitur et dilatabitur nimis<sup>3</sup>. Deinde confricabis et desiccabis dentes et gingivas cum corticibus<sup>4</sup> aromaticibus arboris calide et sicce et acuti vel amari saporis : hoc quidem multum juvat et valde prodest. Dentes enim mundificat et oris vicium liquefacit et desiccat flegma, desserit linguam,<sup>5</sup> clarificat loquaciam, insuper excitat desiderium comedendi. Deinde subfumigabis<sup>6</sup> te subfumigacionibus congruis temporibus : hoc enim fumigium valde proficit, quia aperit clausuras cerebri, et grossiora reddit colla, et brachia pinguescere facit, et clarificat faciem atque visum, corroborat sensum<sup>7</sup>, vetat et tardare facit caniciem, et animam ipsam letificat, et ad Deum ex odoris suavitate comendat.

Post hoc utere unguentis optimis et odoriferis, temporibus<sup>8</sup> tamen congruentibus in quibus fueris, quia non nisi odoratu bono et dulci reficitur anima; et omnis odor suavis est ejus cibus. Et cum refecta et confortata fuerit anima et firmata que delicata est, corpus confirmabitur<sup>9</sup> et confortabitur et gaudebit cor, et sanguis undique in venas incipit currere ex leticia anime que delectata est.

Post hoc accipias alaccod<sup>10</sup>, id est, ex electuarjo ligni then take some electuary of aloes

<sup>30</sup> <sup>1</sup> vel, ornamento. <sup>2</sup> et confortabitur. <sup>3</sup> id est, multum.

<sup>4</sup> ut cinamomi et hujusmodi vel olivarum persicarie vel salvie vel such as cinnamon, sage, &c.; genciane vel de sale vel amararum specierum.

<sup>5</sup> id est, facit disertam linguam.

<sup>6</sup> scilicet, nares tuas speciebus calidis vel frigidis, siccis vel

<sup>35</sup> humidis tempori congruentibus.

<sup>7</sup> id est, 5 sensus omnes.

<sup>8</sup> scilicet, frigidis in calido tempore et calidis in frigido.

<sup>9</sup> vel, corroborabitur. <sup>10</sup> nomen arabicum.

aloes,<sup>1</sup> quod invenitur in libris medicinalibus, et tunc ex  
raoud<sup>2</sup>, id est, ex reubarbaro pensum quatuor nummorum ar-  
genteorum, quoniam hoc<sup>3</sup> valde proficit.<sup>4</sup> Et subtrahit flegma  
ab ore stomachi, et excitat calorem naturalem corporis, fugat  
ventositatem, et bonum oris reddit saporem et odorem. 5

<sup>57 b.</sup> Deinde cum nobilibus sede, et cum sapientibus | loquere  
secundum consuetudinem regum et nobilium, et age quod  
te decet agere.

<sup>1</sup> vel, ex electo ligno aloes. <sup>2</sup> nomen arabicum. <sup>3</sup> vel, hic.

<sup>4</sup> Quia hic valde proficit, scilicet, lignum aloes et reubarbarum 10 quando bene eliguntur, quoniam, ut postea dicit, reubarbarum est vita epatis. Nichil plus valet corpori humano, quia hoc solum medicatum non est venenosum, et si receptum non laxat aut quia corpus recipientis non indiget purgacione, aut ineptum est purgacioni sive ex complexione, sive ex compositione, sive ex 15 constellacione. Non tamen nocet set multum proficit omni die recipere vel sepe, propter causas quas Aristotiles recitat hic, et quia est vita epatis ut dicit inferius, capitulo de vino. Miro enim modo purgat flegma et principaliter, sicut hic notat Aristotiles, licet medici multi moderni estimant quod principaliter purget 20 coleram. Set decepti sunt, quia leviter purgatur colera et per omne purgativum propter levitatem sui, secundum quod Johannes Damascenus dicit in *Afforismis* suis, .8º. afforismo, omne catarticum purganto aliquem humorem simul educit coleram. ‘Catarticum’ Grece est ‘purgativum’ Latine. Set tamen auctores et 25 periti medici acuunt hanc medicinam vel preparacionem ejus per aliquid quod respicit coleram, et ideo per hoc purgat coleram plurimum, licet ex natura reubarbari secundum se principaliter purgat flegma, quod cognovi per experienciam sapientum nostri temporis. Si quis vero vult per modum medicine laxative recipere 30 hoc medicamen, primo per .7. dies accipiat oximel, quod quinto libro *Vatici* scribitur valere ad frigiditatem epatis et stomachi ac diuturnas febres et ad multa alia. Et tunc in serum purgatum per albumina ovorum .5. vel .6. sicut satis noverunt medici periti, serum dico precipue caprium vel ovium vel vaccarum. Infundatur 35 pulvis reubarbari postquam serum colatum est et infrigidatum, deinde stet ad aerem, et post medium noctem sumatur. Et recipiens dormiat postea ad plus duabus horis, ut cicius exeat de stomacho. Si multum dormiret evaporaret per corpora, et si debilitetur homo propter jejunium quia tarde solvit, potest comedere 40 et assellabit post. Debet poni in sero tepido quia si poneretur in sero calido, non faceret nisi mingere. Et potest accipi quantitas dimidie uncie una vice, i.e. virtus uncie  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

<sup>2</sup> raoud] caoud MS.

and of rhubarb;

then sit and  
talk with your  
nobles a while.

The virtues of  
this medicine.

Its chief use is to  
purge phlegm  
not colera.

Damascenus.

The way of  
taking it as a  
laxative.

A short sleep  
after.

The quantity.

*Capitulum .5. de motu antequam sumatur cibus, et de cibo et potu, et de modo cibandi et potandi, et consuetudinem servandi.*

Cum voluntas comedendi tibi affuerit juxta horam consuetudinis: utere labore corporis<sup>1</sup> modico, scilicet equitando vel deambulando vel tale aliquid simile faciendo,<sup>5</sup> quia hoc multum bonum est, et mire juvat corpus: fugat et frangit ventositates, corpus aptat, corroborat atque alleviat, et calorem stomachi incendit, constringit compages et liquefacit superfluos humores corporis residuos, et flegma facit descendere super stomachum nimis incensum.<sup>2</sup> id est, calidum et nimis desiccatum.

Ponantur postea multi cibi ante te et comedas ex illis quos eligeris juxta desiderium tuum cum pane equaliter levato qui erit perfecte fermentatus, qui sit bene et noviter coctus et a furfure bene mundatus, mediocriter cum sale conditus, et prepone ex illis quos preponere debes. Verbi gratia, si sumpserit homo in uno prandio pulmentum molle molliens ventrem, et aliud retinens<sup>3</sup> secutum fuerit: si molle precesserit, melius et levius facit digestionem. Si vero retinens ante comederit et postea molle, confundetur male et consumetur utrumque. Similiter si sumpserit homo in una comedione plura pulmenta mollia.<sup>4</sup> que digeri cito possunt, oportet ut aliiquid aliud pulmentum precedat retinens in fundo stomachi, quia profunditas stomachi

Take a little exercise before your meal-time.

Take some bread with your meals.

Arrange the order of your dishes according to their digestibility.

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, corpus movendo.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, in hiis qui habent stomachum calidum.

<sup>3</sup> ventrem, ut scilicet, grossum et durum et siccum.

<sup>4</sup> post que non sumit aliiquid durum.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xxxviii. *V.*

<sup>9</sup> incendit] intendit MS.

*In a footnote:* 'Fulgentius in quodam sermone: quidam sapiens interrogatus ad quid exercitium laboris esset necessarium et utile, respondit in hec verba, Honestus, inquit, labor humane vite fida custodia, dormientis nature stimulus, sopiti caloris linea, superfluitatis consumptio, viciorum fuga, morborum mors, langorum medicina, lucrum temporis, juventutis debitum, adolescencie disciplina, senectutis gaudium, salutis adjutorium, nutricis omnium malorum est emula, otii inimica. Ille nempe solus ab exercicio se abstineat et labore, qui felicitatis gaudio vult carere.'

58 b. calidior atque forcior est ad digerendum et molliendum ea que sunt in ea, eo quod sunt partes carnose in ea que sunt calide, que conjuncta et vicina est epati ex cuius calore cibi decoquuntur.<sup>1</sup>

Leave off eating  
while you still  
have an appetite.

The evils of  
repletion.

Don't drink  
much at meals;

if you must, let  
it be a little cold  
water.

Pottage.

Avicenna's  
doctrine as to  
drinking at  
meals.

Drink after  
eating.

If necessary at  
other times,  
drink very little.

Et in comedione debes retrahere tuam manum, id est, 5 cessare a comedione dum adhuc sit comedendi voluntas seu desiderium comedendi. Quia ex superfluitate cibi angustiatur stomachus, et pectus similiter, gravatur corpus et leditur animus, et cibus remanet in fundo stomachi ponderosus, indigestus et nocivus. <sup>10</sup>

Similiter animum tuum a potacione aque retine<sup>2</sup> super cibum, donec<sup>3</sup> in consuetudinem cibi veniat; quia potacio aque frigide super cibum stomachum refrigerat et extinguit ignem et calorem digestionis et cibum confundit et impedimentum generat si multum bibatur, quo nichil deterius 15 erit corpori humano. Si ergo necesse fuerit ut aquam sumas, vel propter calorem temporis vel calorem stomachi sive corporis, vel eciam propter calorem ciborum;<sup>4</sup> modica sit et bene frigida.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pulmentum generaliter sumitur ad molle et durum, liquidum 20 et siccum, sicut patet ex pulmulo Ysaac in *Genesi*, et hoc dicunt auctores, ut in libro *Policratico* et in *Smaragdo* et alibi.

<sup>2</sup> abstine.

<sup>3</sup> aliter, ne.

<sup>4</sup> id est, propter assumptionem calidorum ciborum.

<sup>5</sup> De potacione aque et vini super cibum dum comeditur 25 notabile est documentum Avicenne primo *Artis Medicine*. Vult igitur quod nullus debet potare super cibum et maxime vinum, quia potus cito digeritur in stomacho et transit ad epar, et dicit secum partes cibi parvas indigestas, sicut aqua desuper terram currens dicit secum pulveres terre, et postquam haec partes indigeste transierint stomachum, nunquam proficiunt set nimis nocent. <sup>30</sup>

59 a. Ex quibus generantur humores corrupti et morbi. Et quod hoc sit naturale, patet in animalibus brutis, quia prius comedunt complete et postea bibunt suo tempore. Si tamen in stomacho sit nimius calor ex triplici causa vel ex duabus causis vel eciam de una, 35 de quibus loquitur Aristotiles hic. Tunc secundum Avicennam, debet versus finem, vel magis in fine, sumere parum de aqua bene frigida ut sitis extinguatur; et post horam potandum est sicut necesse est, et hoc est, mediocriter. Set consuetudo et societas mutant hec et quandoque necessitas, quia pauci possunt habere 40 copiam potus post mensam nisi divites et domini sue potestatis et

*Capitulum .6. de modo doi miendi super latera diversa et de dolore stomachi et eructacione.*

Cum vero tu cibo refectus fueris et a prandio erectus surrexeris, ascende<sup>1</sup> super stramenta<sup>2</sup> mollia, deinde temperate dormi, et requiesce primo una hora super latus dextrum deinde ad sinistrum revertere, et super illud dormicionem perfice, quia latus sinistrum frigidum est et ideo indiget calefaccione.<sup>3</sup>

Si igitur sentis dolorem in stomacho et in ventre vel gravitatem tunc medicina necessaria<sup>4</sup> tibi est amplecti puellam calidam et speciosam, aut ponere super ventrem camisiam calidam ponderosam, vel saccum plenum avena calefacta, vel tegulam calefactam involutam in panno lineo triplicato, vel pulvinar calidum<sup>5</sup>.

Si vero sentis eructacionem acerbam, signum est frigiditatis stomachi. Hujus rei medicina est bibere aquam calidam cum sirupo acetoso et evomere. Quia incarceratio cibi corrupti in ventre est valida corporis destruccio.

*Capitulum .7. de motu post prandium et de dormitione ante prandium et post.*

Et mocio ante prandium excitat calorem naturalem stomachi, set post prandium est nociva, quia tunc descendit cibus indecoctus ad inferiores partes stomachi et exinde generantur inclusiones et alia mala et incomoda.<sup>6</sup>

voluntatis. Unde propter varias occasiones et propter amicos oportet quod frangant consuetudinem. Et ideo comodius est et humanius est potare in mensa, set sepius modicum, ut per interpolatas comediones tardetur potus digestio, et sic aut non nocebit aut longe minus.

30      <sup>1</sup> incede *vel* incumbe.

<sup>2</sup> strata subtilia.

<sup>3</sup> Hoc intelligendum est in sanis et bene dispositis, set debiles debent primo dormire super latus sinistrum, sicut docet Avicenna, et secundo super dextrum et in fine super sinistrum ut hic dicit.

<sup>4</sup> id est, utilis.

<sup>5</sup> id est, calefactum.

35      <sup>6</sup> et constrictiones nimie hum(er)orum generatorum ex cibo et potu, set intelligendum est de magno motu equitando vel itinerando

In our days we must drink a little at table for good fellowship.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xxxix. V.

<sup>32</sup> Avicenna] lib. i. f. 3. d. 2. c. 7.

Sleep before and after meals.

Scito autem quod dormitacio ante prandium reddit corpus macilentum et desiccat humiditatem ejus et consumit. Post refectionem vero mire corpus reficit, replet et corroborat atque nutrit. Quia dum dormit homo quiescit corpus, et tunc trahitur calor naturalis, qui diffusus est per totum corpus, ad stomachum, et ad interiora stomachi,<sup>1</sup> et tunc corroborabitur stomachus super decoctionem cibi, | et

60 a. tunc querit virtus rationalis suam quietem. Propter hoc dixerunt quidam philosophi quod magis proficit vespertina comedio quam meridiana, quia meridiana comedio recipit calorem diei quando sensus operantur et animus vexatur propter ea que audit homo et raciocinatur. et propter cogitationes et propter multa incomoda et plurima inconveniencia que corpus circumveniunt que veniunt ex calore et motu. Et propter hoc in hora meridiana diffunditur calor naturalis per exteriora corporis et ideo tunc multum debilitatur stomachus et fit impotens ad coquendum cibum. Verumtamen in cena vespertina fit totum contrarium, quia tunc accedit corpori tranquillitas laboris, et tunc est requies sensibus et anime, et tunc est noctis frigiditas que ducit naturam<sup>2</sup> ad interiora et inferiora stomachi.<sup>3</sup>

At noon external causes keep the natural heat from leaving the extremities.

At supper-time everything is quiet.

walk a little after an hour.

Don't sleep at once after a meal.

You must not go without food till supper in summer time.

vel laborando forti labore. Post unam horam tamen sedendo, utile est suaviter ambulare per aliam horam ante dormitionem, quia tunc est tempus ut cibus descendat ad inferius stomachi, licet non in prima hora, ut voluit, quia Avicenna docet quod multus motus et labor corrumpunt cibum in stomacho. Set sciendum est quod non debet homo dormire immediate post prandium, quia descendit cibus facilis extra stomachum et indigestus, et multum nocet oculis, quia in dormiendo fiunt multe evaporaciones ad caput que gravant oculos : igitur post duas horas bonum est dormire.

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, ad fundum ejus.

<sup>2</sup> id est, calorem naturalem.

<sup>3</sup> Propter hoc dixerunt quidam philosophi quod magis proficit vespertina comedio, etc. Johannes tamen Damascenus dicit in *Afforismis suis* vel secundum quosdam *Diascorides*, quod jejunare in estate continue usque ad vesperam facit quatuor mala, generat melancoliam malam, et ictericiam, et maciem, et defectum oculorum, et hoc experti sumus in pluribus.

1 Chapter xl. *V.*

*Capitulum .8. de semel comedendo in die vel bis et consuetudine servanda, et de modo consuetudinem mutandi, si oportet.*

Keep your ac-  
customed meal-  
times.

**I** Tem ignorare tu non debes quod qui consuevit comedere bis in die, si contineat se ad unam certam horam | et <sup>60 b.</sup> unam tantum comedionem, certum eveniet sibi nocumentum. Et sic eveniet illi qui consuevit semel in die comedere, et incipit bis comedere. Quia ejus stomachus nequit cibum digerere, et ideo indigestum remanebit nutrimentum. Et qui consuevit in una certa hora comedere, et transfert suam comedionem usque ad aliam horam, cito percipiet quod sue nature non proficit multum set officit, quia consuetudo est <sup>Custom is a second nature.</sup>

Si igitur aliqua necessitas, que legem non habet, te compellit ad hoc, videlicet ut consuetudo comedendi mutetur, <sup>Necessity has no law.</sup> hoc debet fieri discrete et sapienter, videlicet ut fiat mutatio <sup>If you must change habits, do it little by little.</sup> consuetudinis paulatim una vice post aliam, et sic, Dei adjutorio, undique bene fiet.

*Capitulum .9. quod non iteretur comedio ante digestionem perfectam prioris cibi, et quomodo hoc cognoscatur.*

**E**T cave ne iterum comedas donec certissime cognoveris Do not eat unless the stomach is empty and you have an appetite, stomachum esse vacuum, id est, purgatum a primo cibo. Et hoc cognoscas<sup>1</sup> per desiderium, id est, cum voluntatem comedendi habere ceperis, et per subtilitatem salive ad os decurrentis. Quia si quis habunde cibum sumpserit absque corporis necessitate, id est, sine voluntate comedendi. | cibus recens inveniet calorem naturalem quasi <sup>61 a.</sup> gelidum ex abundancia humorum infrigidancium et decoctionibus eorum intentum et vexatum, et ideo non potest esse calor intentus hiis et aliis, quia pluribus intentus minor est ad singula.

or the stomach cannot digest it.

Si vero, cum desideraverit cibum, susceperit eum quis et cum magno desiderio, tunc inveniet cibus calorem naturalem Eat as soon as you have an appetite,

<sup>1</sup> cognoscet.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xli. *V.*

<sup>18</sup> Chapter xlvi. *V.*

<sup>3</sup> quod] quia MS.

<sup>7</sup> nequit] nequid MS.

sicut ignem accensum et quasi jam ad cibos coquendos paratum. Et cum ceperis habere desiderium comedendi, debes statim comedere. Nisi enim cito comedeleris, statim stomachus replebitur pessimis humoribus quos contrahit ad se de superfluitatibus corporis que conturbant cerebrum, vapore pessimo, et cum postea affuerit cibus fit tepidus et non proficit corpori, immo nocet.

*Capitulum .10. de quatuor temporibus, scilicet, de vere, estate, autumpno, et hyeme. In quo videlicet dat intencionem suam in universali de .4. temporibus anni pro regimine sanitatis: et primo de vere.*

**D**E intencione nostra in hoc loco breviter determinare est de quatuor temporibus anni, de qualitate et quantitate et proprietate uniuscujusque temporis sive partis, et de varietate eorundem. Debes quoque, Alexander, sollicite 15  
61 b. custodire quatuor anni tempora que sic distinguntur.

Ver tunc incipit quando Sol ingreditur signum Arietis, tunc est inicium veris, et durat per nonaginta tres<sup>1</sup> dies et .23. horas et quartam partem unius hore,<sup>2</sup> hoc est a .10<sup>a.</sup> die exeunte Marcio usque ad .23. diem Junii.<sup>3</sup> In hoc tempore 20 dies et noctes adequantur in suis regionibus, dulcescit tempus, mitescit aer, sufflant venti, dissolvuntur nives, currunt torrentes inter montes, scaturizant fontes, extolluntur humiditates ad summitates arborum et capita ramorum, semina surgunt, crescent segetes, virent prata, pul crescunt et 25 colorantur flores, induuntur novis foliis et floribus arbores, ornantur terre graminibus, generantur animalia, parantur pascua, cuncta resumunt vires, cantant aves, resonant philomene, recipit tellus integre totum ornamentum et pulcritudinem suam, et fit sicut sponsa pulcherrima, speciosa 30

<sup>1</sup> .93.

<sup>2</sup> quarta pars hore est .15. minuta quia hora habet partes .60. que vocantur minuta secundum consideracionem astronomicam.

<sup>3</sup> de qua die estas habebit .45. minuta.

juvencula parata monilibus, ornata variis coloribus, ut appareat hominibus in festo nupciali.

Ver enim est calidum et humidum et temperatum: aeri<sup>62 a.</sup>  
simile est, et excitatur in eo sanguis et diffunditur per uni-  
5 versa membra corporis. Et proficit in eo<sup>1</sup> omne quod est  
simile ei et equalis complexionis, id est, temperatum. Dieta  
igitur in tali tempore sit temperata, et talia<sup>2</sup> in eo come-  
dantur ut sunt, scilicet, pulli gallinarum, et conturnices, et  
ova, non superflue set usque ad sex, et lactuce agrestes  
10 quas rustici vocant scariolas, et lac caprinum.

Nullum enim tempus est melius et utilius ad sanguinis  
minucionem, et proficit in eo usus veneris et motus corporis  
et solucio ventris, usus balnei et sudores, et specierum baths,  
pociones ad digerendum et purgatoria accipienda sunt. and purges.  
15 Quicquid autem erroris per digestionem<sup>3</sup> sive per minu-  
cionem<sup>4</sup> et causa medicine acciderit, hoc tempus humiditate  
sua et habilitate restaurat.

### *Capitulum undecimum de estate et regimine sanitatis in eo.*

20 **E**Stas tunc incipit quando Sol ingreditur primum gradum  
Cancri et continet .92. dies et .23. horas et terciam  
partem<sup>5</sup> hore unius, hoc est a .23. die Junii<sup>6</sup> usque ad .24.  
diem Septembbris.<sup>7</sup> In hoc enim tempore elongantur | dies,  
abreviantur noctes. In omnibus regionibus crescent calores,  
inflammantur venti, tranquillitas est in mari, nascuntur ser-  
25 pentes, funduntur venena, serenitas in aere multiplicatur,  
desiccantur segetes, corroborantur corporum virtutes, et fit

Summer begins  
when the Sun  
enters Cancer  
and lasts 92 days  
23 hours and  
20 minutes from  
June 23 to  
September 24.  
62 b.

The effects of  
Summer on  
Nature.

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, humano corpori.

<sup>3</sup> nimiam.

<sup>2</sup> id est, temperata.

<sup>5</sup> que est .20. minuta.

<sup>4</sup> vel, per inanicionem.

30 <sup>6</sup> de qua estas non habet nisi tres quartas unius hore, scilicet  
.45. minuta.

<sup>7</sup> de qua .24. die habet estas .(22). horas et .35. minuta hore,  
quia non remanent de illa die nisi hora et .25. minuta que  
debentur autumpno.

. 18 Chapter xliv. V.

20 92<sup>1</sup><sub>2</sub> days. Com. Nat., p. 420.

13 sudoris, corr. to sudores

22 diem, iterat MS.

mundus quasi sponsa corpore completa, etate perfecta, calore inflammata.

Estivum tempus est calidum et siccum, in quo excitatur colera rubea. Et oportet in eo cavere ab omni quod fuerit calide et sicce complexionis plus justo: excitat enim coleram <sup>5</sup> rubeam: ab esu <sup>1</sup> quoque et potu et a nimia saturitate est abstinentum, ne calor naturalis extinguatur.

Comedas in eo <sup>2</sup> quicquid est frigide et humide complexionis, ut sunt carnes vituline cum aceto et curcubite, et pulli saginati, pulmentum quoque ex farina ordei, fructus <sup>10</sup> quoque acri saporis, et mala acria, et malagranata. Et venus parce petatur aut magis nullo modo; ab omni minuzione abstineas nisi necesse fuerit valde in organis, et motus corporis sive balnea habeantur parce. Comedantur ergo, ut predictum est, in isto tempore frigida et humida, ut <sup>15</sup>

<sup>63 a.</sup> frigiditate caliditatis violencia, et humiditate siccitatis malicia reprimatur. Similiter per singula anni tempora oportet quod contraria contrariis curentur.

### *Capitulum .12. de autumpno et regimine sanitatis in eo.*

A Utumpnus tunc incipit quando Sol intrat primum <sup>20</sup> gradum signi Libre et continet .88. dies et .17. horas et tres quintenas hore,<sup>3</sup> hoc est, a .24. die Septembris<sup>4</sup> usque ad .22. diem Decembbris.

<sup>1</sup> calido.

<sup>2</sup> tempore.

<sup>3</sup> id est, quintas hore que sunt .36. minuta, quia .12. minuta <sup>25</sup> sunt una quinta, quia hora habet .60. minuta.

<sup>4</sup> A .24. die Septembris etc., de qua non habet nisi horam et .25. minuta: usque ad .22. diem Decembbris, etc.: set si hora et .25. minuta hore de .24<sup>o</sup>. die Septembris addantur ad .22. diem Decembbris, et ab hoc toto auferantur .17. hore et .36. minuta, <sup>30</sup> remanebunt .7. hore et .49. minuta de .22. die Decembbris, que hore et minuta erunt de hyeme, a quibus scilicet hyems incepit tempore Aristotelis.

Vel sic et facilius. A .24. Septembris de qua non habet autumpnus nisi .25. minuta et unam horam, set incipiendo <sup>35</sup> autumpnum ab illis .25. minutis et hora una .24<sup>e</sup>. diei Septembris,

<sup>19</sup> Chapter xlvi. V.

<sup>21</sup> 88 d. 7 m. 30 sec. *Com. Nat.*, p. 420.

<sup>34</sup> Septembris] Decembbris MS.

In hoc tempore adequantur dies et nox secunda vice, in hoc eciam nox crescit et tollit de die, et aer frigescit, venti flant septentrionales, mutantur tempora, decrescent flumina, diminuuntur fontes, marcescunt et arescunt viridia, desinunt fructus, facies terre caret sua pulcritudine, volatilia querunt calidas regiones, animalia suas appetunt cavernas, serpentes foveas ubi colligunt vitam<sup>1</sup> propter hyemem. Mundus comparatur feminine plene etatis, indigenti vestibus, quasi si recesserit ab ea juventus et festinat senectus.

The effects of  
Autumn on  
Nature.

<sup>10</sup> Autumpnus est tempus frigidum et siccum in quo colera nigra consurgit. Oportet in eo tempore sumere calida et humida, ut sunt pulli et agni, vinum vetus et subtile et uve dulces. Abstineas ab omnibus coleram nigram generanti-

The qualities of  
Autumn.  
Suitable diet.

Cautions.

usque ad .21<sup>am</sup>. diem Decembris inclusive sunt .25. minuta et una hora cum .88. diebus. Cum ergo Autumpnus ultra .88. dies habet .17. horas et .36. minuta, oportet hoc accipere a .25. minutis et una hora in quibus incepit autumpnus et a .22. die Decembris. Con jungamus igitur .25. minuta cum una hora diei .22<sup>e</sup>. Decembris, et erunt .25. hore et .25. minuta, a quibus igitur si auferamus .17. horas et .36. minuta, relinquuntur tantum .7. hore et .49. minuta, que .7. hore cum minutis erunt de principio hyemis.

Vel sic. Ad .22. diem Decembris, de qua Autumpnus non habet nisi horam et .25. minuta, Set incipiendo Autumpnum ab illis .25. minutis et una hora .24<sup>te</sup>. die Septembris usque ad .21. diem Decembris inclusive sunt .88. dies et una hora et .25. minutis, que debent addi ad .21. diem Decembris inclusive, et erunt .25. hore et .25. minuta, a quibus si .17. hore et .36. minuta auferantur, remanebunt pro hyeme de .22. die Decembris .7. hore et .49. minuta, a quibus in tempore Aristotelis incepit hyems. <sup>Another calculation.</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Set nunc incipit in festo Sce. Lucie vel in vigilis ejus, vel circa illud. Set sciendum quod hec computacio stat si supponimus principia aliorum temporum | predicta, scilicet dato quod Ver incepit at .22. die mensis Marcii, ita quod secundum Aristotilem capiat totum diem illum .22. quia aliud haberi non potest secundum Aristotilem, quia non dicit aliquot horas ut duas vel .10. vel aliquot alias capiat; nullam enim excipit, et ideo probabilius est quod pro Vere accipiat totum diem .22. Marcii. Set libri discordant ab invicem, cuius certificatio dependet ab alciori consideratione astronomie quod non potest hic terminari.

Winter now  
begins on  
December 13.  
63 b.

A difference of  
authorities.

<sup>40.</sup> <sup>1</sup> vel, victim.

bus, motus corporis et usus veneris magis excerce quam in  
 64 a. estate, | balnea quoque et purgatoria, si necesse fuerit, in  
 hoc tempore facias et accipias. Si homo indigeat vomitu,  
 fiat hoc modice in meridie et calidiore hora diei, quoniam in  
 talibus horis et maxime calidioribus superfluitates generantur 5  
 et congregantur in homine. Purgacio ventris debet fieri in  
 hoc tempore per asymon et angariacon, et per omnia que  
 attrahunt nigram coleram et reprimunt humores.

*Capitulum .13. de hyeme et regimine sanitatis in ea.*

**H**YEMPS vero tunc incipit quando Sol intrat primum 10  
 gradum signi Capricorni et continet .89. dies et .7.  
 horas cum .49. minutis, hoc est, a .22. die Decembris usque  
 ad .21. diem Marcii.<sup>1</sup>

In hoc tempore nox elongatur, dies abbreviatur, con-  
 valescunt frigora et exasperantur venti, cadunt arborum 15  
 folia, moriuntur pro majori parte virencia et indurantur  
 quasi lapis, major pars animalium in ventre terre et in  
 cavernis montium pro nimio frigore et humiditate latet,  
 obscuratur aer, denigrescunt tempora, contremescunt pecora  
 64 b. et jumenta, | debilitantur virtutes camporum et corporum. 20  
 Et tunc est mundus quasi vetula gravida etate decrepita,  
 indumento nuda, morti propinqua.

Hyemps quoque est tempus frigidum et humidum in quo  
 flegma augmentatur, in quo conversaciones oportet flecti, id  
 est, usus vivendi debet mutari, et debes tunc redire ad cibos 25  
 calidos et materias calidas, ut sunt pulli columbarum, arietina  
 caro, et assature, et universa pulmenta pigmenta et cibaria

<sup>1</sup> Hec computatio stat, sicut predictum est, et sequitur ex principio Veris dato in principio et ex principiis aliorum temporum, scilicet, Estatis et Autumpni. Si vero computemus pro hyeme 30 .88. dies integros tantum, tunc remanebunt .7. hore et .49. minuta de ultimo die Autumpni, et adhuc unus dies integer, scilicet, .21. dies Marcii; et ideo nullo modo possunt precise esse .14. hore ultra dies integros, licet multa exemplaria has habeant.

9 Chapter xlvi. K      11 90 d 7 m. 3 s. Com. Nat., p. 420.

33 On the contrary, this would make almost the true length of the mean year  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days. The Arabic text has 14 hours.

Suitable medi-  
cine.

Winter begins  
when the Sun  
enters Capricorn  
and lasts 89 days  
7 hours 49  
minutes from  
December 22 to  
March 21.

The effects of  
Winter upon  
Nature.

The qualities of  
Winter.

Suitable diet.

More computa-  
tions.

calida, ficus quoque et nuces et vinum rubeum et optimum ; et sumantur electuaria calida. Abstineas eciam a solucione ventris et a minucione sanguinis, nisi maxima cogat necessitas. Tunc oportet mutare aera. id est, calefacere, neque 5 cibi abundancia<sup>1</sup> utaris neque veneris, ne digestio debilitetur.

Suitable medicine.

Unge tuum corpus et frica unguentis optimis calidis, et Care of the body in Winter. utere balneis temperatis ; non nocet in hoc tempore usus veneris neque nimius motus corporis, nec multa potacio neque multa comedio.<sup>2</sup> Quia in hoc tempore pre frigore 10 naturalis calor colligitur et ingreditur interiora corporis, et 65 a. ideo eciam melior est digestio in hyeme et validior. In vere et estate venter est frigidus quia in hiis temporibus aperiuntur pori propter calorem et diffunditur calor naturalis per omnes partes corporis, et propter parcitatem caloris sto- 15 machi digestio impeditur, et humores commoventur.

The pores are open in Spring and Summer.

Scias ergo hoc, et Dominus te conservet. Vale.

#### *Capitulum .14. de custodiendo calore naturali et vita personae convenientes, vitando contrarias.*

1

**O** Alexander, hanc dietam preciosam tibi prefixam cus- 20 todi, naturalem calorem conservando : quia quamdiu calor naturalis temperatus in homine perseveraverit, et humiditas modum sive mensuram non excedens, reficitur ex ea calor naturalis, et tunc salus et vita indubitanter creditur permanere, et sic sanitas longis temporibus custoditur. Nam 25 duobus modis inveteratur homo ac deficit, uno modo scilicet naturali, qui debito modo nature fit in senectute que vincit naturam in corpore, quia destruit naturam et quasi vinculum in corpore siccitate destruit creaturam. Alio modo acci- 30 dentiali, scilicet ex infirmitatibus et aliis causis et curis pessimis.

By observing this dietary you will preserve your natural heat.

Men die for one of two causes :

natural, in old age;

accidental, by sickness, &c.

<sup>1</sup> id est, in algoribus magnis, hoc est in nimio frigore et gelu set in reliquo hyemis tempore debet homo uti sufficienti abundancia in nimiis enim algoribus ebat calor naturalis et impeditur digestio sicut in nimiis caumatibus, id est, in tempore nimis calido. Keep warm. 35 Set tamen in reliquo tempore hyemis temperato fortificatur digestio, quia dicit Ypocras, ventres in hyeme sunt calidiores, et hujus causam dat hic Aristotiles.

<sup>2</sup> cibi abundancia.

These are the things that fatten the body.

Baths of sweet waters.

Pleasant odours of herbs.

Vomit once a month to cleanse the stomach.

Pleasure is a good medicine.

Suitable pleasures.

Things that dry up and weaken the body.

Inpinguant et humectant corpus hec : quies, securitas, et esus ciborum dulcium et<sup>1</sup> potacio lactis dulcis et calidi, 5 b. potacio vini dulcis, et dormitacio post commestionem supra stramenta mollia et odorifera<sup>2</sup> in locis ac temporibus convenientibus, et ingressus balneorum dulcium aquarum, et in illis sessio modica ut corpus a balneo non balneum a corpore humiditatem accipiat, et ne diurnitate balnei corpus debilitetur. Odorem senciant sive odorentur in eo herbe odorifere et quicquid boni odoris fuerit, unum quodque enim tempori et unicuique corpori congruum, ut in hyeme absinthum<sup>3</sup> quod est cujusdam floris species, vel herbe calide nature, rose quidem et viole et quicquid nature frigide fuerit in estate.

Excerceatur vomitus semel in unoquoque mense, maxime in estate. Vomitus enim lavat corpus et stomachum, et purgat eum ab humoribus pessimis et putridis. Si pauci fuerint humores in stomacho ; confortabitur calor ad digerendum cibos, corpus irrigabitur, et implebitur humiditate et pinguedine ; et multo melius ac utilius erit, si cum hac disposizione contingat habere gaudium et leticiam et gloriam et risum mediocrem, et de inimicis victoriam, et spem atque fiduciam in plebe sua, et in ludis et in visionibus delectari,

66 a. et facies pulcas aspicere, et libros delectabiles legere<sup>4</sup>, cum dilectis ridere, cantus suavissimos et delectabiles<sup>5</sup> audire, vestimentis optimis et colorum varietate tinctis indui, et unguentis optimis ungi temporibus congruis.

*De macrantibus corpus et desiccantibus et debilitantibus nimis.*

E contra autem, hec macerant et desiccat corpus et debilitant : comedere modicum et bibere multum, laborare et frequenter stare ad solem, et extra mensuram ambulare, et dormire ante prandium supra stramenta dura, excedere,

<sup>1</sup> ut.      <sup>2</sup> odoriferis frigidis et humidis mediocriter tamen.

<sup>3</sup> dubium est mihi, licet in omnibus exemplaribus sic inveni.

<sup>4</sup> inspicere vel audire.      <sup>5</sup> dulcissimos.

mente sollicitari, metuere, et balnea aque sulphuree intrare, et in eis multum sedere, et comedere salsos cibos, acidos, siccos, et frigidos, et vinum vetus multum potare,<sup>1</sup> multum quoque egerere, et sanguinem sepe minuere et minuendo mensuram excedere, in venere modum transcendere, et similiter in solucione ventris, cogitationes pessimas et tristissimas et metum frequenter habere ; hec omnia et plura alia sine dubio desiccant et debilitant.

Regula Ypocratis. Si quis repletus vel constipatus bal-  
neum intraverit ylii<sup>2</sup> dolorem vel intestinorum certissime Don't bathe on  
potest incurrere. Item, si coierit quis | ventre impleto, 66 b.  
paralysim incurrit.<sup>3</sup> Nec post cibum quis currat, vel nor run, nor ride,  
multum equitet. Qui simul lac et pisces comedunt, sepe lepram aut albam maculam incurront. Vinum et lac nor eat fish and  
similiter operantur. \* milk together.

Curacio enim quarumlibet istarum passionum fit per exibicionem contrarii respectu egritudinis. Observetur A summary of  
eciam regiminis bonitatis in aere, exercicio et ocio, cibo the dietary.  
et potu, sompno et vigilia, constrictione et evacuacione,  
et accidentibus anime.

### *Capitulum .15. de egritudine capitis et ejus remedio in genere et specie.*

m

C Orpus dividitur in .4. partes : prima pars est caput. Quando ergo in eo congregantur superfluitates, poteris scire per hec signa, que sunt tenebrositas oculorum, gravitas superciliorum, repercussiones temporum,<sup>4</sup> ac tinnitus aurium, inclusio narium. Si quis igitur sentit in se hoc accidere, accipiat medicinalia purgancia caput debita, sive sint cibi

The body is divided into four parts.

Signs of sickness in the head.

Medicines for this sickness.

<sup>1</sup> temperatus tamen usus vini veteris utilis est in autumpno, Old wine is good in Autumn.  
30 sicut prius dixit capitulo de autumpno.

<sup>2</sup> vel, yliacum. <sup>3</sup> si multum utatur.

<sup>4</sup> unde in spalmo et requiem temporibus, quia tempus est fictio.

medicinales sive alia. Unde accipiat esdentim<sup>1</sup> et decoquat ipsum in vino dulci et cum radicibus pullegii donec minuatur medietas, et teneat ipsum in ore quolibet mane donec  
 67 a. senciat sibi prodesse. Et utatur in cibo suo granis sinapis et decoquat in pondere unius denarii cum pulvere confecto<sup>5</sup> ex xii<sup>2</sup> unguentis, et hoc in dormitacione sua utatur.

What evils are  
to be feared from  
neglected pains  
in the head.

Si ergo omittat hoc et negligat, timere potest periculosas infirmitates inde, videlicet, corruptionem visus, dolorem cerebri, et multas alias egritudines, a quibus omnibus te custodias in omni tempore.<sup>10</sup>

*Capitulum .16. de egritudine pectoris et signis ejus et ejus remedio.*

Signs of sickness  
in the breast:

Pectus est secunda pars; si itaque in eo congregentur superfluitates hec signa secuntur: lingua fit ponderosa, os male dispositum et salsum ex flegmate salso, in ore<sup>15</sup> stomachi cibum acerbum sentit homo, et dolorem tussis. Oportet igitur diminuere de comedione et uti vomitu, et post vomitum sumere zucaram rosaceam cum ligno aloes et mastice. Et post comedionem sumere ad magnitudinem unius nucis de electuario magno amissosus<sup>3</sup>, quod est confectum ex ligno aloes et transegugam<sup>4</sup>. Qui vero negligit hec facere, de levi potest incurrere infirmitatem lateris, dolorem in renibus, et febrem et multas alias egritudines.<sup>20</sup>

suitable medicines.

What evils are  
to be feared.

*Capitulum .17. de malis oculorum et eorum remedia.*

Signs of sickness  
in the eyes:

67 b. Oculi sunt tercia pars corporis. Oportet autem ipsum<sup>25</sup> qui laborat in conservando sanitatem oculorum, ut tueatur eos a pulvere, fumo, aeribus<sup>5</sup> egredientibus ab equa-

<sup>1</sup> nomen arabicum dubium mihi est valde vel falsum, ideo queratur in aliis exemplaribus vel a medicis et apothecariis.

<sup>2</sup> dubium vel falsum, ideo queratur a sapientibus et aliis libris.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>3</sup> nomen arabicum, vel pocius corruptum.

<sup>4</sup> nomen arabicum corruptum, ideo queratur a sapientibus et libris.

<sup>5</sup> vel, acribus, ut ab allio et hujusmodi et cepis.

litate in caliditate et frigiditate, et a ventis malis. Non assiduet intueri rem unam a qua non avertat, nec inspiciat multum res subtile, vitet multitudinem fletus et coitus et multitudinem implecionis potus et cibi, et precipue potuum et ciborum vaporem grossum ad capud emittencium, sicut pororum caulum et cervisie, nec dormiat super replecionem<sup>1</sup>.

Res autem que conferunt oculo sunt [species tuthie et] suitable medi-  
cines. succus feniculi, verbene, rose, celidonie, sive succus ruta, submersio oculorum in aqua clara et aperire oculos in ea et extra aspicere eam. Signa dispositionis oculi tam convenientis quam inconvenientis cognoscuntur ex .8. canonibus<sup>2</sup>. Ex tactu et ex venis ejus, ex figura, ex operacionibus propriis scilicet, ex colore, quantitate, ab eis passionibus que ex eo exeunt, et a rebus exterioribus occurrentibus secundum calidum et frigidum, siccum et humidum. Ex venis sunt signa oculi si sint | apparibiles et plene humoris, multitudo 68 a. humoris egritudinis causa est. Qui humor cognoscitur per <sup>humours,</sup> colorem et dolorem ut si sit lenis<sup>3</sup> et continuus, sanguineum significat, pungitivus<sup>4</sup> colericum,<sup>5</sup> extensivus fleumaticum,<sup>6</sup> aggravatus melancolicum significat;<sup>7</sup> deambulativus<sup>8</sup> ventositatem, et per alia signa. Ex figura quidem sunt signa <sup>figure,</sup> oculi, quia decet esse rotundam in circuitu, et in superficie planam<sup>9</sup>. Ex operatione sunt signa; qui oculi velociter <sup>movements,</sup> mobiles sunt, calidi judicantur, tarde frigidi, lacrimantes humidi. Similiter quidam vident rem a longe distantem,

<sup>1</sup> cibi et potus.

<sup>2</sup> id est, regulis. ‘Canon’ Grece, ‘regula’ Latine.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, humor. <sup>4</sup> propter acumen colere.

<sup>5</sup> scilicet, significat.

<sup>6</sup> quando multum extenditur et dilitatur humor, quia flegma est fluidum et distensivum.

<sup>7</sup> quando humor est gravis et ponderosus, quia tunc siccus est et terrestris sicut melancolia est frigida sicca et terrestris.

<sup>8</sup> scilicet humor oculi id est mobilis hinc inde; tunc notat ventositatem que fit ex materia mobili.

<sup>9</sup> id est, lenem et politam.

<sup>•</sup> 3 subtile] instabiles V 18 colorem] calorem V 7 ‘species tuthie et’ added in margin by corrector

short sight,  
long sight,  
colour, 68 b. quantity,  
passions,  
exterioris.

de prope vero non, quidam vero e converso. De prope enim videntes, spiritum habent visibilem parvum et clarum<sup>1</sup> qui ex sui parvitate non sufficit se extendere ad longinquam. Qui vero de longe vident solum, spiritum habent multum set non subtilem set perturbatum et grossum et humidum, unde longo indigent intervallo ad sui depuracionem, ut grossi vapores ab illo separantur. Ex colore sunt signa oculi; | quoniam color significat humorem dominantem, scilicet rubeus<sup>2</sup>, citrinus<sup>2</sup>, plumbeus<sup>2</sup>, fuscus<sup>2</sup> sive niger. Rubeus coleram significat, citrinus sanguinem, plumbeus flegma, quia multum habet de humore sordido, fuscus sive niger notat obscuritatem que venit ex melancolia que est nigra. Ex quantitate sumitur signa naturalia; quoniam magnitudo oculorum cum proporcione operacionum<sup>3</sup> et virtutum multitudinem substancie et bonam eucrasiam<sup>4</sup> ex qua oculi sunt facti ostendit. Ex bonitate operacionis multam substanciam et eucrasiatam demonstrat<sup>5</sup>; cum vicio vero operacionum, parvam substanciam non eucrasiatam. A qualitate in operacionibus sumitur signa moralia; quia cuius oculi sunt magni, piger est, prominentes<sup>6</sup> inver- cundus loquax ac stolidus est, cuius in profundo sunt positi callidus est et deceptor. A rebus exterioribus cognoscitur per pacientis indicium.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> set quia clarus est hic spiritus facit bonam visionem prope.

<sup>2</sup> color. <sup>3</sup> significant humores.

<sup>4</sup> id est, bonam temperacionem vel temperanciam.

<sup>5</sup> scilicet, oculorum magnitudo.

<sup>6</sup> scilicet, cuius oculi sunt.

<sup>7</sup> scilicet bona vel mala disposicio oculorum, scilicet, secundum rationem calidi et frigidi, humidi et siccii, ut si de prope aspicias ignem leditur visio et sic de aliis, secundum quod oculi sunt longe vel prope a rebus nocivis.

*This chapter has been substituted for the following, the original translation, found in some MSS.*

23 De tertia parte corporis. Cum superfluitates in ventre congregantur, hec sunt signa: genuum dolor, inflatio, rigor, et ventositates circum- euntes. Oportet igitur nec sentientem purgari cum aliquibus subtilibus mollificativis, et uti regimine quod supra de pectore prediximus: quicunque hoc non fecerit incurret in dolorem juncturarum et tergi, in fluxum ventris, corrupcionem digestionis, et oppilationem epatis.

*Capitulum .18. de malo genitalium et eorum medicina.*

**T**esticuli sunt quarta pars corporis ; cum itaque super- Signs of evil in  
fluitates corporis congregantur in eis hec signa secuntur ;  
tepet appetitus, et cetera. Oportet ergo illum qui sentit  
5 hec ut accipiat herbam que dicitur ache<sup>1</sup> et anamag<sup>1</sup>, 69 a.  
et ponat radices et herbas in vino albo boni odoris, et sumat ex eo quolibet mane, ita quod sit temperatum cum aqua et melle. Et abstineat a nimia comedione. Et si  
10 obmittat hanc medicinam, timere poterit dolorem testiculorum et pulmonis et periculum lapidis. What evils are to be feared.

*Capitulum .19. de conservantibus sanitatem potenter, et contra venenum medicina certissima.*

n

**L**egitur in libris de historiis antiquorum quod quidam rex potens congregavit medicos meliores, Indorum, Medorum et Grecorum, et injunxit eis ut quilibet eorum studiceret facere talem medicinam, qua si utatur homo proficiat sibi et alia non indigeat.

Sane Grecus indicavit et dixit quod sumere quilibet manc aquam calidam pleno ore bis, ita sanum redderet hominem quod non indigebit alia medicina. Medus vero affirmavit quod jejuno stomacho prodest multum sumere de granis milii. Indus dixit quod si quis sumeret .5. grana cimini cotidie jejuno stomacho, alia non indigeret medicina. Ego vero dico quod ille qui tantum dormit quod non habet in ventre ponderositatem cibi, non timebit febrem neque guttam : et qui comedit quilibet mane .7. dragmas racemi passi bone dulcedinis non timebit aliquo modo de infirmitibus flegmaticis, cuius memoria emendatur, intellectus illuminatur, et qui tempore convenienti sue complexioni utitur, securus erit et non timebit febrem quartanam. Et

A king once sought for a universal medicine;

the Greek advised a mouthful of warm water every morning. The Mede.

The Indian.

The best diet sleep till all the food is digested. Eat raisins,

<sup>1</sup> nomina Arabica, querantur a medicis.

nuts, figs, and  
rue.

qui comedit nuces cum ficubus et paucis foliis rute, ei  
eadem die non nocebit venenum.<sup>1</sup>

*Capitulum .20. de custodia caloris naturalis, et de duplice  
corruptione corporis.*

Preserve natural  
heat.

**O** summe rex, modis omnibus studeas custodire calorem <sup>5</sup>  
naturalem et retinere, quia quamdiu caliditas temperata  
est in homine et humiditas, calor naturalis temperatur et

Antidotes to  
poisons.

<sup>1</sup> Nota super omnia hanc medicinam de nucibus et ficubus  
et ruta, quia utilissima est et facilima et certissima. Unde infelices  
sunt reges et principes et prelati et alii qui timent venena quod <sup>10</sup>  
non utuntur hac medicina. Et medicorum maxima cecitas com-  
probatur. Certitudo vero istius medicine non solum per Aristotilem hic habetur set per Macrum in libro *herbarum* et peritissimi  
medici et probatissimi antiqui, licet a longe et in parte innuunt  
cum hec. Summa vero certitudinis est per experientiam sapien- <sup>15</sup>  
tum, sicut aliqui nostri temporis et antiqui solebant facere. Nam  
in Hystoriis Romanis et aliorum auctorum legimus quod Mithridates,  
rex Ponticeorum regionum potentissimus et sapientissimus  
set tamen crudelissimus, qui expugnavit Romanum imperium per  
.40. annos, et reges tres amicos Romanorum expulit de regnis <sup>20</sup>  
suis, usus est hac medicina. Cum propter nimiam crudelitatem  
suam ejus filii et excercitus sui facti sunt ei contrarii, et obsessus  
ab eis, malens mori quam tradere se in manus eorum, babit  
venenum. Set mori non potuit propter comedionem medicine  
dictae, qua omni die usus est propter insidias inimicorum. Novi <sup>25</sup>  
eciam hominem de sanguine omnium regum nobilium et imperiali,  
qui habuit inimicos mortales innumerabiles et potentissimos, qui  
consilio sapientum medicorum usus est hac medicina et con-  
servatus est, licet aliquando recepit venenum.

This antidote  
used in Bacon's  
time

The dose,

and preparation  
of the antidote;

against vomiting.

3 Chapter liv. I.

29 Macer, in ruta, c. vii.

Macer igitur exponens Aristotilem docet quod sumantur omni <sup>30</sup>  
die jejuno stomacho due nuces majores, et due carice, id est, ficus  
sicce, cum .20. foliis ruta, et sic nunquam venenum nocebit: |  
<sup>70 a.</sup> Contra venenum: Recipe avellanas et nuces ana .10. foliorum  
route uncias iij, sales uncia una, ficuum siccarum .20., et omnia  
fortiter terantur et postea piscentur, et magdaliones ad pondus <sup>35</sup>  
nucum formentur, et qui timet de veneno, ante comedionem  
comedat unum bolum, et si detur venenum immediate vomet,  
et si comedenter post receptum venenum similiter vomet. Item  
contra vomitum: Panem assume et rosas distempera, cum aceto  
et succo mente ana, et super stomachum emplastrum pone et <sup>40</sup>  
restringet vomitum.

corroboratur, quia sanitas et durabilitas in hiis modis duobus consistit.

*De duplii corruptione.*

Sciendum est in hoc loco quod destruccio et corruptio corporis provenit ex duabus causis, una naturalis, alia contra naturam. Naturalis provenit ex contrariarum qualitatum repugnancia et contradicione, quando siccitas dominatur in corpore. Corrupcio vero contra naturam provenit ex aliqua causa accidental, sive ex bello sive ex offensione ad lapidem, sive ex aliis fortuitis casibus, sive ex infirmitate et malo consilio.

*Capitulum .21. de divisione ciborum et eorum cognitione.*

O

**C**Iborum quedam sunt subtilia, quedam grossa, quedam media. Subtilia subtilem generant sanguinem clarum et bonum, ut sunt frumentum, pulli gallinarum bene nutriti, et ova. Grossa vero cibaria valent calidis hominibus, et laborantibus in jejunio, et dormientibus post prandium. Media autem cibaria non generant inflacionem nec superfluitatem, ut sunt carnes agnine, arietine, castratine, et omnes carnes que sunt calide et humide. Hujusmodi tamen videntur fallere in hiis carnibus quando assantur, quoniam inde adquirunt duriciem caliditatem<sup>2</sup> et siccitatem. Si itaque tales carnes assantur, cito comedantur, et tunc laudabiliores sunt<sup>3</sup> et precipue quando in eis suaves species apponuntur.

<sup>1</sup> id est, talia documenta.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, exterius set interius sunt humide et ideo duricies exterior debet amoveri.

<sup>3</sup> quia si dimittantur infrigidari, duriores sunt et minus sapide.

Considerandum igitur est quod secundum Aristotelem .4. *Methaphysice* quod assata interius sunt humida, et elixata interius sunt sicca, et ideo assata melius nutriunt. Set tamen durum exterius removeatur, propter quod Avicenna primo libro *Artis Medicine* docet quod minuti debent comedere carnes assatas ad restaurandum sanguinem.

Foods which  
cause melan-  
choly.

Delicate foods.

Whigh fish may  
be eaten :

which to be  
avoided.

Of waters.

All waters come  
from the sea.

Which wateis  
are best :

which are  
unhealthy.

Signs of good  
water.

Quedam vero cibaria sunt que generant melancoliam, sicut caro bubali, vaccina, ovina, et omnes que sunt grosse et sicce et aspere. Aliqua tamen animalia ex hiis habent subtiles carnes que pascuntur in humidis et aquosis locis et umbrosis ; eorum carnes sunt meliores et saniores, suaviores <sup>5</sup> et moliores.<sup>1</sup>

Idem est dicendum de piscibus. Sciendum quod piscis parve substancie et subtilis pellis et facilis masticacionis qui nutritus sit in aquis salinaticis <sup>2</sup> currentibus, talis est levior

<sup>71 a.</sup> et melior | et sanior quam ille qui nascitur in mari vel <sup>10</sup> in dulci aqua. Oportet ergo cavere ab illis piscibus qui sunt magne substancie dure pellis, quia talis solet esse venenosus. Et hoc de piscibus ad presens sufficiat, quia in libro quem composui *de pulmentis et medicinis* invenies sufficienter de ista materia determinatum. <sup>15</sup>

### *Capitulum .22. de cognizione et naturas aquarum.*

**S**CIRE DEBES QUOD AQUE SUNT UTILES CUILIBET VIVENTI TAM ANIMALIBUS QUAM VEGETABILIBUS. ET MEMENTO QUOD DOCUI TE SUFFICIENTER DE AQUIS, ET SATIS OSTENDI TIBI QUOD AQUE OMNES TAM DULCES QUAM AMARE ORIGINEM TRAXERUNT A MARI ; <sup>20</sup> DE HAC RE FECI TIBI DEMONSTRACIONEM MANIFESTAM. NUNC SUPRA SCIENDUM EST QUOD LEVIORES ET SANIORES AQUE SUNTILLE QUE SUNT <sup>3</sup> PROPE CIVITATES ET TORENTES. QUANDO Igitur terra pura est a rupibus non habundans fumositatibus, aqua illius loci est levius optima et laudabilis. Aqua vero nascens in <sup>25</sup> terra lapidosa que habundat fumositatibus est gravis infirma nocibilis : et aqua, in qua sunt rane et serpentes et alia animalia venenosa, est infirma, sicut aque sunt palustres. Signa siquidem bonarum aquarum sunt hec : levitas, claritas,

<sup>71 b.</sup> albedo, bonus odor, quando facile calefiunt et facile frigescunt, in talibus enim delectatur natura. Aque vero salse et

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, propter pascua.

<sup>2</sup> hoc est, salsis non tamen de mari.

<sup>3</sup> currentes.

amare fumose dicuntur, et ideo desiccant ventrem et dissolvunt. Aque autem palustres<sup>1</sup> sunt calide graves, quia stant et non moventur, quia Sol diu durat super ipsas; ideo generant coleram et faciunt crescere splenem et pulmonem.

5 Aque que diu scaturizantur in albis terris sunt calide et infirme,<sup>2</sup> quia continent in se particulas terricas.<sup>3</sup> Et potacio aque frigide stomacho jejuno ante prandium nocet corpori et extinguit ignem stomachi. Potacio vero post prandium calefacit corpus et generat flegma, et si multum

10 sumatur corrumptit cibum in stomacho. Debes igitur bibere aquam frigidam in estate et calidam in hyeme, et non e converso, quia potacio aque calefacte in estate mollificat et debilitat stomachum et destruit appetitum, sicut potacio aque frigide in hyeme extinguit calorem et destruit instrumenta pectoris, et nocet pulmoni, et multa generat nocumenta.

Signs and effects  
of bad water.

Not to drink  
cold water  
fasting.

Drink cold water  
in summer and  
warm in winter.

*Capitulum .23. de cognizione et generibus vini.*

**S**ciendum quod vinum cuius racemus est natus in monte | soli opposito est siccioris nature quam illud <sup>72 a.</sup> quod nascitur in plano et in locis madidis et umbrosis. Primum vinum valet senibus et hominibus habundantibus in humiditate et flegmate, nocet vero juvenibus et calidis hominibus. Primum ergo calefacit et liberat a superfluitatibus frigidis et grossis. Et vinum, quanto rubicundius et spissius tanto magis generat sanguinem, set quando est forte et fortis amaritudinis, tunc dicitur primus sanguis et primum nutrimentum, et habet naturam potionis et medicine, et sumptum diu valde nocet. Quando vero vinum hujus generis<sup>4</sup> est dulce, nocet stomacho, generat ventositates

Of wine.

Two sorts of  
wine.  
Dry wine good  
for old men.

Red wine makes  
blood.

Sweet red wine  
is harmful.

<sup>1</sup> et stagnorum.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, propter longum motum, quia motus calefacit.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, multas quas trahunt secum propter longitudinem itineris.

<sup>4</sup> scilicet, quod est rubeum et spissum.

The best wine  
of all.

et inflaciones. Laudabilius et suavius omni vino quoad omnes complexiones est illud quod nascitur in terra extensa inter montes et valles, cuius racemus est bone dulcedinis, perfecte maturitatis, subtilis aeris, quod non vindemiatur donec egressa fuerit fortitudo<sup>1</sup> sue substancie et humiditas 5 corticis, insipitudo palmitum et granorum graciliorum ; colour, and taste ; cuius color est aureus<sup>2</sup>, cuius sapor est medius acutus<sup>3</sup> et lees.

72 b. delectabilis, cuius fex in fundo depressa<sup>4</sup> est, cuius partes subtiles sunt et arecentes (vel arefacte). Quando itaque

Use it in moderation. Its properties. tale reperitur, sume de ipso temperate juxta etatem corporis 10 et temporis qualitatem, quia confortat stomachum, calorem corroborat naturalem, juvat digestionem, conservat a corrupcione, dicit cibum, decoquit et perducit ipsum purificatum ad omnia membra que reguntur, et decoquit cibum ipsum in eisdem membris donec convertatur in sanguinem 15 subtilem et substancialem ; tunc ascendit ad cervicem cum calore temperato, et reddit capud securum a fortuitis casibus, insuper cor letificat, colorem rubificat, linguam reddit expeditam, liberat a curis, et hominem facit audacem, et excitat ad omnia appetitum, et multa alia bona facit. 20

It comforts the  
brain,

makes the heart  
glad,  
and has many  
other good  
effects.

But if too much  
is taken  
it hurts the wits,

enfeebles the  
body,

destroys the  
liver,  
causes many  
sicknesses,

Vinum autem quando sumitur habundanter in magna quantitate, tunc hec mala consequuntur : obscurat intellectum, et impedit sensum, et turbat cerebrum, debilitat virtutem naturalem et animalem, generat oblivionem<sup>5</sup>, ledit omnes .5 sensus quibus regitur et disponitur tota operacio corporalis, 25 fugat appetitum, debilitat cathenas corporis et juncturas, generat tremorem membrorum, et lippitudinem oculorum, | 73 a. accendit coleram, destruit epar quia reddit ejus sanguinem grossiorem, et cordis cruentum denigrat. Ex inde proveniunt timor et horror, tremor, sompnio locucio<sup>6</sup>, fantastice visiones, 30 corruptio coloris, debilitacio genitalium, destruccio seminis,

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, superflua.

<sup>2</sup> id est, medius inter rubeum et citrinum.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, inter amarum et dulce ut est acutus.

<sup>4</sup> id est, bene defecata antequam extrahatur de dolio etc.

<sup>5</sup> oblivious.      <sup>6</sup> id est, locucio in sompnis.

abdominacio stomachi ; distemperat complexionem, generat corporis grossitudinem, et quod deterius est, lepram inducit, and even leprosy.  
 et tunc est de genere venenorum. Cavendum est igitur ne vinum ultra modum<sup>1</sup> sumatur, quia vinum imitatur naturam Wine is like  
 et complexionem reubarbari que est vita epatis, que habet proprias utilitates que continentur in libris medicinalibus, et nichilominus reubarbarum est quandoque venenum mortiferum, videlicet illis qui ultra modum sumunt ex eo, et transgrediuntur certam mensuram et quantitatem.

**10** Vinum etiam comparatur nature serpentum ex quibus Or it is like the antidotum<sup>2</sup> efficitur, et lesions maxime per corum medicinalibus sometimes good, sometimes a mortal poison.  
 expelluntur, verumptamen omnibus notum est quod venena mortifera gerunt in se et generant.

*Capitulum .24. de commendacione sirupi acetosi et remedium contra ebrietatem.*

**O** Alexander, nunquam te deat te sumere mane sirupum acetosum jejuno stomacho, et non jejuno | quando, 73 b. scilicet, convalescunt humiditates et abundanter flegma dominatur, quia valde sanativum est. Sapiens Aristo<sup>3</sup> Aristo praised good wine and good bread.  
**20** multum mirabiliter bonum vinum commendavit ubi dixit : Mirum est de homine qualiter potest infirmari vel mori, cujus cibus est panis optimi frumenti et carnes commendabiles, cujus potus est vinum bone vitis, et ex hiis utitur temperate, abstinendo se a nimia et mala comedione, potu, used temperately.  
**25** coitu, et labore, quomodo huic accideret egritudo.

Oportet siquidem illum qui libenter inebriatur vino ultra modum sumpto ut abluit se cum aqua calida, et sedeat super fluenta aquarum currencium et habeat salices atque mirtam, quia confert multum, et ungere debet caput et

Take every morning some syrup of vinegar.

**30** <sup>1</sup> id est, mensuram.

<sup>2</sup> id est, medicina contra venenum sicut tyriaca.

<sup>3</sup> hic stulti scribunt Aristotiles pro Aristo qui fuit philosophus Aristo is not quidam alias ab Aristotle, et ideo dicunt quod hic liber non est Aristote. Aristotilis. Preterea debet scire quod tres fuerunt Aristotiles, sicut patet ex Plinio et Censorio.

corpus suum cum saldel confecto<sup>1</sup> et fumigare cum incensis frigidis et odoriferis. Hec est siquidem ebrietatis optima medicina.

*De modo mutandi consuetudinem.*

Si quis proponit penitus vel ex toto relinquere potum vini, non debet subito ab usu penitus vini abstinere, set paulatim de potu vini ad potum uve passe transire | et exinde adjungere aquam paulatim una vice post aliam donec veniat ad puram aquam, quia per istum ordinem servatur complexio nature a gravibus egritudinibus et futuris.

**p** *Capitulum .25. de hiis que corroborant corpus et cetera, et est hoc capitulum simile capitulo .14. set quia optima sunt documenta ideo iterat, licet alio modo, et addit quedam et alia minuit.*

**P** Ost hec itaque sciendum est quod quedam alimenta de hiis corroborant et impinguant et quedam macerant, et quedam humectant et quedam desiccant, quedam res dant et reddant corpori vigorem et pulcritudinem, quedam generant pigriiem et tepiditatem. Ea siquidem que ipsum corpus corroborant sunt alimenta suavia levia sue nature conveniencia, quando sumuntur tempore competenti et in hora necessitatis sicut prediximus. Ea vero que ipsum corpus impinguant et humectant sunt hec : requies corporis, leticia mentis, jocunda societas, et cibaria calida et humida, potacio vini dulcis, et sumpcio mellis humidi quod colligitur et nutritur in locis privatis in caule geldel<sup>2</sup>. Et nichil tantum valet ad hoc quantum dormicio post prandium

74 b. super suavia stramina in locis frigidis, et balneari in balneis<sup>3</sup> calidis et parum stare in eisdem ne humiditas corporis

<sup>1</sup> id est, cum unguento de salidale, nomen Arabicum.

<sup>2</sup> nomen est arabicum.

<sup>3</sup> aliter, aquis.

How to leave off the use of wine : first use grape-juice,

then dilute it with more and more water.

Some things strengthen, some weaken, the body.

These things strengthen the body.

Sleep on soft beds.

Warm baths.

dissolvatur in magna quantitate, quia melius est ut corpus habeat de humiditate et madefaccione balnei quam e converso. Odores odorare jocundantes animam et convenientes tempori in quo est, verbi gracia, odorare racemum in hyeme quia calide sunt nature, rosas vero et violas in estate. Exercere vomitum bis vel ter in mense, et in estate maxime, quia vomitus abluit stomachum et purgat a malis humoribus et corruptis humiditatibus. Nam quando iste corrupte materie expelluntur a stomacho, naturalis calor augmentatur et confortatur ad alimentum digerendum. Rege igitur bene tuum corpus si vis ut crescit, et observa meum consilium, cum hiis quippe magis<sup>1</sup> valet solacium et divicias<sup>2</sup> habere, reverenciam et victoriam super inimicos acquirere, delicate vivere, solaciari in instrumentis musicis<sup>3</sup>, videre et delectari in rebus formosis, legere in libris delectabilibus, audire cantica leticie, esse cum amicis delectis, indui fulgentibus et speciosissimis | vestibus et conferre<sup>4</sup> cum sapientibus querendo de rebus preteritis et futuris, confortare virtutes racionales, uti unguentis convenientibus tempori in quo es; hec siquidem sunt que homines inpinguant.

Res vero que faciunt contrarium, videlicet, que macerant corpus sunt hec: diminucio cibi et potus, frequentatio exercicij et laboris, stare in calore et sole, longa vigilia, dormicio ante prandium super duros lectos, et, quia caliditas impeditur propter nimiam humiditatem que inest corpori, balneari in aquis sulphureis et salsis et dissolutivis et calidissimis, fames, potacio<sup>5</sup> veteris vini puri, frequens purgacio ventris, diminucio sanguinis nimia. nimius usus veneris,

<sup>1</sup> id est, multum.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, necessarias set non superfluas, quia inducunt sollicitudinem nimiam de multiplicacione earum et timorem ne amittantur, et maximum dolorem de amissione, et hec tria sunt pessima, sicut patet ex capitulo quartodecimo et istius secunde partis.

<sup>3</sup> vel, musicorum. <sup>4</sup> id est, confabulare.

<sup>5</sup> scilicet, magna et frequens, sicut expositum est supra capitulo .14.

Pleasant odours.

Vomit twice a month.

Indulge in reasonable pleasures of life.

The things which diminish the body.

The evils of riches.

paupertas, sollicitudo, timor, mala cogitacio et anxietas doloris frequenter accidentes, et mali eventus.

**q** *Capitulum .26. de balneo, scilicet, de modo ingrediendi et excundi.*

A bath is built  
with four rooms,  
like the four sea-  
sons: cold, tepid,  
warm, and dry.

**B** Alneum itaque est unum de miraculis (vel mirabilibus) 5  
hujus mundi, quia edificatum est secundum anni quatuor  
tempora, quia frigidum attribuitur hyemi, tepidum veri,  
calidum estati, siccum autumpno. | De summa ergo pru-  
dencia est facere in balneo quatuor mansiones ordinatim ita  
ut prima sit frigida, secunda tepida, tercia calida, et quarta 10  
sicca. Et cum quis ingredi voluerit, debet primo aliquantulum  
in prima stare, et parum ibi morari, deinde secundam intrare,  
et parum ibi morari, et post in tertiam parvulam moram  
facere, postmodo vero ingrediendo quartam et similiter  
facere. Et cum voluerit exire, debet eundem modum 15  
servare, faciendo morulam in qualibet mansione camerarum  
ne exeat ex nimio calore ad nimium frigus. aut de nimio  
frigore ad nimium calorem.

Et sit balneum edificatum in alto et in loco ventoso, et  
habeat fornaces magnas et latas reddentes flamas latas, et 20  
aquam dulcem.

Et utendum est in eo odoribus convenientibus tempori  
presenti, videlicet in vere et estate utendum est temperato  
odore, scilicet triplicato et quadruplicato.<sup>1</sup> In autumpno  
vero et hyeme fruendum<sup>2</sup> est duplicato<sup>3</sup>. Deinde sedendum 25

The site of a  
bath and its  
furnaces.

The use of  
odours in the  
bath.

Shampooing and  
rubbing.

76 a. est super sedilia aquis rosaceis | inbuta, et postea super alia  
sedilia, et postea faciat se tergere cum linchiamine albo et  
mundo de lino una vice, et postea de alio alia vice; postquam  
omnia ita compleverit et delicate ablutus fuerit, exeat ad  
alias mansiones statim. et utatur sequentibus documentis et 30  
unguentis.

<sup>1</sup> odorifero, id est, triplum vel quadruplum: plus de odoriferis  
debent poni in vere et estate quam in autumpno et hyeme.

<sup>2</sup> foendum.

<sup>3</sup> odore.

Si ergo vincatur a calore, pectinet se et utatur unguento purificato convenienti tempori. Quia in vere et in estate debet uti unguento scesarino confecto de sandel et emleg :<sup>1</sup> in autumpno et hyeme debet uti unguento confecto de mirra et de succo herbe que dicitur bletes, et proicere super capud artificiales aquas et temperatas. Deinde debet abluere et fricare inde corpus donec fuerit inde lotum bene et mundum. Deinde ungat corpus quibusdam unguentis que convenienti temporibus suis. Deinde gradatim exeat sicut docuimus in precedentibus. Deinde tergat se donec allevietur.

Si itaque sciat, bibat sirupum rosaceum (vel rosarum), et sumat de electuario cum muscato. Deinde tendat brachia sua aliquantulum, deinde post modicam horam sumat paucum cibum bene paratum cum tranquillitate. Et bibat de bono vino temperato cum tanto de aqua et secundum quod consuevit bibere, et non sumat multum set moderate. Deinde subfumigabit se incensis convenientibus illi tempori ; deinde requiescat in locis delicatis, et accipiat de sompno bonam partem, et hoc multum juvat ; deinde debet continuare residuum diei cum gaudio et quiete. Iste siquidem ordo sanitatis et nutricionis est corporis.

Qui vero est senex vel superatur a frigiditate et humiditate, caveat morari in balneis multum. Debet siquidem stare in balneo tantum, donec corpus suum de humiditate balnei madefiat, aquam temperatam proiciat super se multum cito quando (vel quantum) voluerit. Oportet autem fleumaticum non intrare balneum nisi jejuno stomacho, et ungere se unguentis calidis. Qui vero fuerint calide nature, teneant precedentem doctrinam.

<sup>1</sup> nomina arabica que querenda sunt a medicis et ab apothecariis et sic de aliis vocabulis ante et retro, et etiam in aliis exemplaribus, si fortasse sit dubitacio.

19 locis] lectis V.

*Capitulum 27. de commendacione doctrine precedentis, sive de utilitate sue doctrine.*

Follow this  
doctrine

77 a. and you will not  
need a doctor.

Periodic ill-  
nesses.

Attend to my  
book of 'urines',

and to the book  
of medicines;

many useful  
secrets are there  
revealed.

The great medi-  
cine.

77 b. The treasure  
of philosophers.

Names of great  
philosophers,

who inquired  
into super-  
natural things,

**O** Alexander, quando cognoveris datum documentum et opere compleveris, faciet te non indigere medico tempore toto vite tue, cum Dei adjutorio. Sciendum est utique quod graves infirmitates que generantur ex caliditate vel ex periodis<sup>1</sup>, et ex cursu lune cognoscuntur, an sint breves an longeve, et eciam ex signis precedentibus cognoscitur ad quem finem debeant pervenire. Et ego docui te fideliter, et ostendi breviter divisiones et cogniciones infirmitatum. Et in aqua similiter est signum probatum in hiis rebus, set precedencia signa sunt meliora et veriora, sicut determinavi in libro *de aquis*. Et hec signa sufficiunt illi qui tenet bene in memoria doctrinam illius libri, sicut et continetur in libro quem feci *de medicinis compositis*, et in potacionibus artificialibus, in unguentis confectis et emplastris, secundum ordinem et artem Grecorum, Ytalicorum, Indorum, et Persarum, in quibus nullum experimentum fuit fallax. Quia igitur secreta ista utilia erant sepulta, eo quod ignorabantur nec inveniebantur usquequaque, ideo indignum esse decrevi si tuam laterent clemenciam.

*De gloria inestimabili.*

Dignum utique est ut tu scias magnam medicinam que dicitur 'gloria inestimabilis' | que etiam vocatur 'thesaurus philosophorum'. Ego siquidem nunquam percepī nec veraciter novi quis eam invenerit. Quidam enim asserunt quod Adam fuerit ejus inventor. Alii dicunt quod Esculapius, et Hermogenes medicus, Hirfos, et Donasties, et Vatildos Hebrei, et Dioris, et Caraus, gloriosi philosophi qui sunt 8<sup>2</sup>, quibus datum est noscere secreta scienciarum que latebant omnes homines. Isti sunt qui inquisierunt et

<sup>1</sup> Hic sumitur pro motibus circularibus, nam 'periodus' Grece est 'circitus' Latine, a 'peri' quod est 'circum' et 'odos' quod est 'via'.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter lxiv. *V.*  
part of the text.

<sup>22</sup> Chapter lxv. *V.* This heading is written as

disputaverunt de hiis que sunt supra naturam, de pleno, de vacuo, de finito, et de infinito, et concorditer convenerunt in confeccione istius medicine inestimabilis quam divisorunt in .8. partes. Quidam siquidem volunt et affirmant quod Enoch novit hoc secretum per visionem. Volunt enim dicere quod iste Enoch fuit magnus Hermogenes quem Greci multum commendant et laudant, et ei attribuunt omnem scienciam secretam et celestem.

and came together in making this medicine.

Some say Enoch was Hermogenes.

*Capitulum .28. de arte conficiendi 'gloriam inestimabilem', et primo de arte conficiendi mel, quo conficiuntur medicine posterius dicende, scilicet, .8. que conponunt 'gloriam inestimabilem'.*

**C**Um Dei benedictione sume de succo maligranati dulcis .25. rotulas<sup>1</sup>, de succo maligranati acris | .x. rotulas<sup>2</sup>, 78 a.  
 15 et de succo racemi dulcis claro .i. rotulam, et de succo pomorum dulcium .10. rotulas, et de zucaro claro albo et mundo .10. rotulas. Hec omnia ponantur in vase, ita ut sit ad medietatem, et cum discreccione decoquuntur cum suavi igne et penitus sine fumo, et tollatur tota spuma, et tantum 20 decoquatur quousque efficiatur sicut mel spissum. Hoc quidem est illud mel optimum quo conficiuntur medicine; <sup>3</sup> debes ergo uti sicut predictum est.

A honey or vehicle for the medicines.

Of pomegranate-, grape-, and apple-juice, and sugar,

boiled down to viscosity.

*Prima medicina que confortat principalia membra, scilicet, cerebrum, cor, et stomachum.*

**S**umatur cum Dei benedictione et ejus adjutorio de rosis 25 rubeis .i. rotulam, et de violis quarta pars rotule, et omnia ponantur in .x. libris aque dulcis, postquam in eo appositum fuerit de aqua eleorongan<sup>4</sup> media pars rotule, et de aqua mente viridis medietas rotule, et de aqua ling(u)e

The first medicine for the brain, heart, and stomach.

<sup>1</sup> id est, partes. Rotula est genus ponderis unde alia litera habet .25. partes.

<sup>2</sup> genus ponderis, sicut apud nos uncia vel dragma.

<sup>3</sup> posterius dicende que conponunt 'gloriam inestimabilem'.

<sup>4</sup> nonen arabicum.

bovis .i. rotula. Colligantur ita omnia ista et decoquatur cum .i. uncia de elegaman<sup>1</sup> et gariophilo. Et hec omnia debent stare super ignem per unam diem et noctem donec egrediatur tota vis eorum. Deinde ponatur supra ignem 78 b. suavem donec diminuatur tercia pars aquae, | deinde de- 5 ponatur et permittatur clarescere. Et postea ponantur in eo de preparato et predicto melle .iiij.. rotule, et tantum decoquatur quousque spissum fiat. Deinde ponatur in eo una dragma et dimidia de ambra, et .iiij. dragme de ligno aloes trito et humido. Et hec est prima medicina (sive pocio) 10 cujus effectus est confortare cerebrum, cor, et stomachum.

*Confeccio medicine .2. cujus est corroborare stomachum et constringere et purgare putridos humores stomachi sine violencia et abhominacione.*

**S**umatur cum Dei benedicione de mirabolanis et galanga 15 cubebis rotula, ejecto cortice<sup>2</sup> citrini, de medulla caroble de Babilonia quarta pars unius rotule, et de liquiricia sine cortice, que est citrini coloris, due uncie, et de granis maturis de virotis in suo tempore due uncie. Conterantur bene hec omnia et ponantur in .10. rotulis aque dulcis per unam 20 diem et unam noctem. Deinde decoquatur suaviter donec deficiat medietas aquae, deinde misceatur et coletur donec fiat clarum. Et tunc ponantur in eo de melle preparato<sup>3</sup> due rotule et tantum decoquatur iterum done(c) insipissetur. Deinde apponatur de pulvere masticis uncia una, 25 et de rabarir<sup>4</sup> quarta pars uncie. Et hec est secunda medicina cujus proprietas est corroborare stomachum et 79 a. confortare et constringere et purgare malos et putridos humores qui congregantur in stomacho sine abhominacione et violencia et sine aliqua lesione. Insuper confortat 30 catheram corporis<sup>5</sup> et pectus et cerebrum.

<sup>1</sup> nomen arabicum.

<sup>2</sup> vel, stipite. <sup>3</sup> de quo docuit in principio capituli.

<sup>4</sup> id est, reubarbare.

<sup>5</sup> scilicet, compages et juncturas.

15 Chapter lxviii. V.

*Confeccio medicina .3. cuius est confortare omnia membra occulta et maxime principalia, scilicet, cor, cerebrum, et epar.*

**S**umatur cum Dei benedictione una rotula de emleg et The third  
medicine  
strengthening  
the chief viscera.  
5 dimidia, et de elileg Indico dimidia pars unius rotule, et de darsan cariole, et de galanga, et de nuce muscata una uncia. Teratur totum non nimis subtiliter et ponatur in aqua dulci .x. rotulis, et maneat in ea per unam diem et unam noctem. Deinde decoquatur cum suavi igne et  
10 suaviter donec minuatur medietas, deinde misceatur et coleatur donec clarum fiat, et postmodum ponatur cum tribus rotulis mellis artificialis;<sup>1</sup> deinde tantum bulliat donec densum fiat. Et hec est siquidem tercia medicina, cuius proprietas est corroborare omnia membra occulta et  
15 maxime principalia

*Confeccio medicina quarte que juvat appetitum et instrumentum pectoris et pulmonem.*

**S**umatur cum Dei benedictione de aqua palmitum<sup>3</sup> et de The fourth  
medicine  
strengthening  
the appetite,  
lungs, and  
breast.  
rubis ferentibus mora silvestria libra i., de aqua salsa  
20 colata<sup>4</sup> bene i. libra, | de aqua apii colata media libra, de aqua lactuce agrestis libra i., de aqua radicum bethales 79 b.  
libra i.: deinde totum colligatur et congregetur in unum et ponatur in eo aceti albi quarta pars 'sub', et effeti<sup>5</sup> quarta pars libre. Colligatur totum et stet per unum diem et  
25 unam noctem; deinde coletur, et ponantur in eo de melle<sup>6</sup> libre .iiij.; deinde decoquatur cum igne levi et tenui donec inspissetur. Et est quarta medicina; et ejus est proprietas quod juvat appetitum et instrumentum pectoris, et pulmonem.

30 <sup>1</sup> de quo melle in principio medicinarum locutus est.

<sup>2</sup> cor, cerebrum, et epar.

<sup>3</sup> Palmes est virgula vel ramus vitis (*in marg.*)

<sup>4</sup> aliter, cayrsen, id est, cudune.

<sup>5</sup> litera est falsa, ideo queratur in aliis exemplaribus (*in marg.*).

<sup>6</sup> supradicto.

4 Chapter lxx. V. 18 Chapter lxx. V.

19 rubis] rebus MS.

*Confeccio medicine quinte que expellit melancoliam, subtiliat flegma, et tollit humiditates, stomachum temperat, aperit constipaciones et ventositates expellit.*

The fifth medicine strengthening the stomach and expelling phlegm.

**S**umatur estines<sup>1</sup> recens libri  $\frac{1}{2}$ , et berforthes libri  $\frac{1}{2}$ , et de ferat viridi .iij. uncie, et de trifera viridis 'sub' i. et <sup>10</sup> ponantur in .xij. 'sub'<sup>2</sup> aque dulcis, addantur cimini 'sub' .iij., et stet per unum diem et unam noctem. Deinde decoquatur donec medietas aque diminuatur, et sumantur 'sub' .4. de melle preparato, et iterum tantum decoquatur donec insissetur. Hec est igitur quinta medicina cujus proprietas <sup>10</sup> est expellere melancoliam, subtiliare flegma, et superfluas humiditates tollere, stomachum temperare, aperire con-  
80 a. stipaciones, | et ventositates expellere.

*Medicina sexta leniens pectus, conferens respiramento, reparans stomachum, repellens dolorem dencium et renum.* <sup>15</sup>

The sixth medicine for the breast, stomach, teeth, and reins.

**S**umatur cum Dei benedicione de colatura seminum contrariorum<sup>3</sup> medium 'sub' de qualibet, de gumi arabico uncie .iij. et de granis pini uncia .i. Dissolvantur omnes in aqua rosata et apponantur de melle preparato 'sub' .iij., et insissetur bona inspissacione super ignem. Hec est <sup>20</sup> medicina sexta, cujus proprietas est linire pectus, et conferre respiramento, reparat stomachum, et repellit dolorem dencium et renum.

*Medicina .7. reparans stomachum et fugans ventositatem.*

The seventh medicine for the stomach and wind.

**S**umatur cum Dei benedicione de spica indica dragme .iij., <sup>25</sup> set de aretim, et tantum de amomo, et de cubebis dragme .iij., equaliter de corawed longo et brevi dragme .iij., et ponantur tres 'sub' aque dulcis, et iterum stet donec exeat <sup>4</sup> virtus ejus. Deinde teratur et coletur, et ponantur de melle

<sup>1</sup> arabicum nomen.

<sup>2</sup> genus mensure ut libra.

<sup>3</sup> vel, coctanorum.

<sup>4</sup> crescat.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter lxxi. V.

<sup>16</sup> Chapter lxxii. V.

<sup>25</sup> Chapter lxxiii. V.

<sup>21</sup> linire] lenire corr.

<sup>29</sup> teratur] trahatur corr.

preparato et clarificato in quantitate 'sub' .iij., et decoquatur ab igne levi donec inspissetur. Hec est ergo septima medicina, cuius proprium est reparare stomachum et fugare ventositatem.

**5 Medicina octava emendans epar, reparans cor, et confortans omnia membra interiora.**

**S**umantur de reubarbaro recenti solido dragme .iij., et de clavini<sup>1</sup> dragma .i., et constringatur totum, et desuper ponatur de | aqua dulci, 'sub' .x., et stet in ea donec virtus 80 b.

The eighth medicine for the liver heart, and viscera.

ejus exeat. Deinde teratur leniter et diu et coletur, et desuper apponantur de melle preparato 'sub' .iij., et decoquantur levi igne donec inspissetur et ingrossetur. Hec est medicina octava, cuius proprietas est emendare epar, et reparare cor, et confortare interiora membra universa.

**15 Medicina nona et ultima que est finis omnium medicinarum, cuius laudes patent in littera.**

**D**einde sumantur et aggregentur omnes octo medicine precedentes, et sic erit nona et ultima medicina et finalis. Deinde ponantur ad quantitatem omnium dactili

The ninth and last medicine, which is composed of all the others.

Indici recentes mundati a granis suis, quorum interiora sunt tenera ad modum cerebri. Et si non inveniatur tale dissolvatur in aqua donec egrediatur virtus, sicut factum fuit in predictis. Deinde congregetur totum in uno vase et fundatur desuper aqua rosata odorifera .vi. 'sub', et decoquatur quiete totum donec videatur condensari. Deinde tollatur ab igne et dimittatur donec tepefiat. Consequenter ponatur in ea de optima ambra dragme .iij., et de musco optimo dragme .iij., et ponantur in dicto electuario de margaritis bene tritis medium 'sub', et de pulvere | lapidum 81 a.

30 preciosorum rubei coloris et celestis et flavi ana dragma .i.

Mix it with pearls and precious stones,

<sup>1</sup> aliter, clavregeh.

aut duas dragme de quolibet, et de succo nardi<sup>1</sup> dragme .iij., et de subtili pulvere auri dragme .ix. Deinde ponatur hoc electuarium totum sic confectum, ut dictum est, cum predictis rebus in vase aureo subfumigato cum ligno aloes. Deinde ponatur sub divo ad serenum, ut descendant virtutes spirituales in ipsum, per octo dies. Et non permittatur ibidem in illa nocte in qua Luna erit malignior et carens cursu superiori in radiis suis.<sup>2</sup>

Quando igitur completa est et juxta hunc modum consummata, erit de thesauris philosophorum hujus mundi. <sup>10</sup> Accipe ergo de ipso post cibum dragma .i. et similiter ante cibum dragma .i., quia est summa omnium medicinalium (vel medicinarum) et finis cuiuslibet medicinalis intencionis: et ad fugandum melancoliam et coleram flammeam, et calorem renum, et flegma, et ad fugandum emoroydas, et <sup>15</sup> ad repellendum inflacionem, et salsam coleram, et ad dirigendum cibum, et | ad temperandum complecciones, et ad subiliandum musculos, et ad quiescendum tempora<sup>3</sup> (vel tempora), et ad tollendum dolorem capitis, et ad visum clarificandum, et ad senectutem retardandam, et ad subtiliandum vocem, et ad effugandas fumositates, et quiescendas omnes molestias et egritudines apparentes et occultas. Aperit opilaciones, expellit ventositates, et non permittit aliquem locum apostemari nec colleccionem humorum facere. Et impedit naturales infirmitates et humectare facit corpus, <sup>20</sup> et facit bene urinare et tollit tussim et confortat spinam dorsi, juvat respiracionem; et generat gaudium et letificat, et multa alia bona facit que longum esset enunciare. Set habet specialem proprietatem ad generandum intellectum et ad nutriendum cerebrum. O Alexander, ideo non <sup>30</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> aliter, de luto smaragdi dragme .iij.

<sup>2.</sup> Luna dicitur malignior quando est in detimento suo, et hoc est precipue quando est in Capricorno, quia domus ejus, que dicitur maxima dignitas ejus, est Cancer; et tunc in meliori disposizione. Et caret cursu superiori quando est in inferiori <sup>35</sup> parte sui epicicli. Tunc cavendum est quod hec medicina non ponatur ad aerem in radiis Lune; et hoc vult dicere philosophus.

<sup>3.</sup> id est, ad quietem temporum.

expose it to the  
favourable in-  
fluence of the  
stars.

The dose to be  
taken.

The virtues of  
this medicine.

When Luna is  
unfavourable.

oportet te aliquo tempore aliam medicinam sumere, set hac utaris.<sup>1</sup>

*Capitulum .29. de preparacione carnis viperarum sive ser-* 82 a. **S**  
*pentum et draconum, et carum proprietate et eleccione, et de*  
*tempore sumendi et modo preparandi et faciendi trociscos pro*  
*multis cegritudinibus. Et loquitur generaliter de serpente*  
*colubro et draconem, quia ex quolibet eorum fit magna medicina*  
*et nobilis.*

**Q**uia de serpentibus fit magna medicina, et sunt quidam homines ut Ethiopes et alii qui vescuntur carnibus serpentum et draconum, ut tibi dixi in libro *de medicinis* | A medicine of vipers' flesh:

<sup>1</sup> Considerandum est in hoc capitulo .28. de nominibus Arabicis, quia fere omnia sunt dubia, ideo requirenda sunt multa exemplaria, et apothecarii et medici periti sciunt et cognoscunt illa quia in libris eorum hujusmodi nomina continentur. Et est notandum quod in hoc capitulo magno, scilicet, .28., docet omnia que requiruntur ad compositionem summe medicine que vocatur 'gloria inestimabilis' | et primo componit compositionem mellis 82 a.

quo utitur postea, et secundo ponit .8. medicinas particulares ex quibus cum melle preparato componitur una medicina ex omnibus. Et hec est 'gloria inestimabilis' quam peritus medicus et expertus posset bene facere si esset dives. Set medici non utuntur libro isto, aut paucissimi; de quo dampnum infinitum accidit mundo propter bonos prelatos et principes.

**N**am per hanc medicinam extenditur vita usque ad ultimos terminos vite naturales quos Deus constituit, quia omnes infirmitates excludit, et malas complexiones reducit ad statum bonum, et curat omnes infirmitates. Vidi enim medicum peritissimum qui majorem principem in regno Francie post regem, avarum, pusillaminem, tristem, malencolicum, debilem, et multis aliis viciis anime et corporis gravatum, curavit ab omnibus malis per hanc medicinam; et factus est largissimus, audacissimus, letissimus, et curatus ab omnibus passionibus malencolicis, et ab omnibus viciis corporis et anime naturalibus et moralibus.

**E**t si lector hujus capituli ignoret artem medicine, non negligat, set roget apothecarios fideles et peritos, et similiter medicos magnos et sapientes et multum peritos et expertos, ut ostendant ei et doceant eum omnia que hic continentur. Et si fuerit dives, potest laborare ad conficiendum hanc medicinam per sapientissimos medicos et apothecarios peritissimos. Et si excusent se quod res

The difficulty of understanding Arabic names.

Any expert physician can make this inestimable glory if he is rich enough.

It gives the full natural life.

I have seen it cure the greatest man in France, physically and morally.

Faithful apothecaries can compound this medicine.

82 b. et ibi ostendi earum proprietatem mirabilem per quorum usum curantur a diversis langoribus et gravibus, et utilitates consequuntur laudabiles tam in anima quam in corpore, quoniam eorum decorantur corpora pulcritudine juvenili et renovantur, intellectus et memoria clarificantur, quia con- 5 fortant virtutes et sensus, et eos debilitatos ex senectute reparant et relevant, ideo hic scribam breviter de tempore capcionis eorum et de signis eligendi bonos, et modo preparacionis et conservacionis, et aliquid de proprietati- bus, quia nolo quod istud te lateat quin scias ad plenum. 10

When to catch  
the vipers.

Description of  
the proper kind:

colour,

teeth.

Where not to  
catch them.

Not to catch  
feeble ones.

Catch them  
alive.

If you can't buy  
the drugs in  
England you can  
find them at  
Montpellier.

Some additions  
to the medicine.

Accipiantur vipere cum est finis veris et incipit estas, et si fuerit ver hyemale dimittantur usquequo consequatur principium estatis. Et sunt vipere quidam serpentes capita habentes plana, que sunt lata proprie apud propinquitatem colli, minutis, subtiles valde, quorum caude sunt curte strepi- 15 tum facientes et sonitum in incessu. Et istis trociscis non convenientiunt omnes vipere, immo flave, et de flavis femine. Et earum signum est quod masculi in omni latere habent unum dentem et femine plures uno. Et oportet ut alienentur cornute et varie et aspides declines ad albedinem. 20 Et non capiantur ex piscinis vel litoribus fluviorum et aquarum vel marium, vel de petrosis, quoniam in eis sunt quer-

83 a. 83 a. facientes | sitim, immo capiantur in loco longinquo ab humorositate. Et non capiantur ille que sunt debilis motus, immo elegantur ille que sunt velocis in otus habentes 25 caput elevatum. Et oportet ut non moriantur cum capiuntur, si possibile est. Et abiciantur a parte capitis ipsius quatuor digiti, et similiter a parte caude ipsius et ani ejus,

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non inveniantur in Anglia, possunt in nundinis magnis Francie inveniri, vel in Montepessulanico. 30

Sciendum quod predictus medicus sapientissimus qui curavit supradictum principem per hanc medicinam addidit os de corde cervi et anthos, qui est flos roris marini; qui anthos est mirabilis contra passiones senectutis et contra passiones melancolicas. Et si bene recolo, addidit trociscos tyri serpentis electos non 35 sophisticatos.

15 curte] certe MS

quod si cucererit ex ea sanguis, et fuerit ipsius motus in illa <sup>Signs of good-  
ness.</sup> disposicione plurimus, et mors illius tarda, tunc erit electa.  
 Et si fuerit parvi motus et pauci sanguinis, et velocis mortis,  
 tunc est mala. Et de signis ejus iterum est ut sit motus  
 ejus velox, et aspectus ejus aspectus audacie et presumpcionis, et sit egressio fecis ex postremo caude ipsius. Cumque <sup>The preparation  
of vipers' flesh.</sup> mortua est, extrahantur viscera ejus et maxime fel ipsius, et abluatur cum aqua et sale ablucione exquisitissime facta, deinde decoquatur in aqua et sale, et si cum eis fuerit anetum,  
 non est malum. Decoquatur ergo quounque levis fiat colleccio carnis ejus ab osse ipsius; mundificetur ergo caro ab osse et proiciatur in mortario et conteratur bene; et precipiatur illi qui facit illud ut odoret balsamum, id est, oleum balsami, et inungat ipsum super digitos. Cum ergo trita est, misceatur cum tortellis secundum diversas descripciones, et non eligatur secundum descripcionem Andromachi, et deinde <sup>Andromachus.</sup> fiant trocissi ex ea, minuti, subtiles, et desiccentur in umbra <sup>83 b.</sup> et reponantur in repositorio. Et oportet ut non cadat super eos radius Sofis omnino, nec ante exsiccacionem nec post <sup>Not to be ex-  
posed to sun-  
light.</sup>  
 ipsam. Sol naturam destruit et expoliat eos a virtute appropriata carnibus viperarum, interficiente venena que sunt ex morsione et ebibita<sup>1</sup>.

Proprietas ejus carnis est quod ipsa facit penetrare superficitates ad cutem, et proprie quando homo non est mundicatus. Cuidam enim accidit ex comedione ejus exitura in collo magna, quam aperuit, et exivit caro ejus tota conversa in pediculos. Et caro iterum ejus, cum usu habetur, prolongat vitam et confortat virtutem et confert lepre magnifice, et cum administratur in allopacia magnum confert juvamentum. Ejus melior caro est femine, et melior cutis ipsius est cutis masculi. Exsiccacio in carne est fortis, set calefaccio non est vehemens, et cutis ejus est vehementis exsiccacionis. Jus serpentis et caro ejus confortant visum et multa alia <sup>Property of the  
juice.</sup> faciunt que nimis longum esset enarrare.

35      <sup>1</sup> vel, bibacione.

*Capitulum .30. de tempore flebotomie et medicinarum laxativerum accipendarum, et scarificationis et ventose.*

Of blood-letting.

84 a.

ET ne facias aperire venam nec locum aliquem nisi facias de consilio et voluntate hominis scientis summam scienciam astrorum, quia virtus nature clarificatur in hoc. 5 Cave igitur, O Alexander, ne assumas medicinam vel venam aperias vel locum scarifies nisi de licencia sciencie astrorum, quia utilitas sciencie medicinalis exaltatur seu comendatur in hoc. Si volueris flebotomari vel sanguinem minuere, non attemptes aliquid horum facere donec novilunium tantum crescat quod recedat a Sole per .4. vel .6. gradus.<sup>1</sup> Et cave ne sit Luna in Tauro, in Cancro vel Pisce vel in Geminis. Et precave de aspectu Solis ad Lunam ascendentem. Et similiter cum fuerit Luna in conjuncione existens in signo aquoso.<sup>2</sup>

15

Do not let blood  
in a new moon.

Evil signs for  
blood-letting.

84 b.

Watch Mercury  
and Saturn.

Be bled in the  
third quarter of  
the moon.

Cave eciam ne fuerit Mercurius in constellacione ascendentis vel sibi oppositus, et similiter dico de Saturno. Et utilior horarum ad apercione venarum in ultima medietate mensis lunaris est, ita quod Luna sit lumine diminuta,<sup>3</sup> et

<sup>1</sup> Hoc est, quarto die vel sexta, quia quinta die non est 20 conveniens secundum sanctos et philosophos et poetas. Docetur enim in *Ecclesiastica Historia* Bede quod non est minuendum quinta die et Servius ac Virgilius primo *Enoydis* dicunt quintam fuge, etc. Septima tamen Luna potest homo sibi minuere.

<sup>2</sup> Secundum Ptolomeum in *Centilogio* quando Luna est in 25 Geminis non debet fieri minucio, quia tunc humores superflue currunt ad locum humidum et generant, et non de facilis constringitur vena set rumpitur, cuius causam assignat, quia Gemini habent respectum sue virtutis ad brachia et ideo natura excitata per virtutem Lune et Geminorum multiplicancium humores, et 30 quia Luna humida est et Gemini nimis humidi, transmittit humores ad locum respondentem Geminis, et hic est locus brachiorum. Que signa sunt aquosa quere in principio libri, et ibi invenies raciones signorum, et que sunt sanguinea et melancolica, que colerica et fleumatica, et similiter de aspectibus, et posui 35 figuras horum.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, in tercia septimana mensis die .4. vel sexto vel septimo.

3 Chapter lxxvi. V.

The advice of  
Bede and others.

The reasons why  
these signs are  
evil.

quod sit in Libra vel in Scorpione, et cum nocive stelle in eam non respiciunt. Et tunc est Luna deterior, cum fuerit in secunda medietate reproba vel nociva.<sup>1</sup>

In diminucione vero sanguinis, non per apercione The time for venarum set per scarificationem carnium, operandum est cum fuerit Luna decrescens in lumine et non<sup>2</sup> respiciant ad ipsam stelle nocive,<sup>3</sup> set est<sup>4</sup> opposita stelle Mercurio, et quod The planets. Luna sit cum Venere, vel respiciat ipsam Venus vel Mercurius. Cum vero Luna fuerit in constellacione ascendentे, tunc habet dominium et potentiam in opere.<sup>5</sup>

Cum volueris sumere medicinam laxativam, consistat<sup>85 a.</sup> Luna in Scorpione vel in Libra vel in Pisce, set pre cave de<sup>Laxative medicine.</sup> appropinquacione Lune ad Saturnum, quia tunc facit con gelare humores et medicinam in corpore. Et quanto magis<sup>Constellations to avoid.</sup> elongatur<sup>Favourable constellations.</sup> Luna a Saturno, tanto melior est, nec est timen-

<sup>1</sup> et hoc fit cum fuerit in disposizione contraria predice triplici dispositio[n]i.

<sup>2</sup> aliter, nisi.

<sup>3</sup> ut Mars et Saturnus.

<sup>4</sup> aliter, et.

<sup>5</sup> Secundum Ptholomeum in *Centilogio*, minucio per fleobotomiam debet fieri in prima septimana Lune, quia tunc fluunt humores ab interioribus ad exteriora sicut flumina a mari, propter quod oportet quod purgacio fiat exterius, et hoc per flebotomiam.

<sup>25</sup> Similiter in tercia septimana a plenilunio per septem dies. Set in secunda septimana et in quarta humores fluunt ab exterioribus ad interiora sicut flumina ad mare, et tunc oportet quod purgatorium penetrerit interiora, et hoc est medicina purgativa sive laxativa, etc.

*Decrescens in lumine*, etc., quia in libro *Novem judicium Astronomie*

<sup>30</sup> hoc docetur, et precipue in quarta septimana quia sanguis ille qui per scarificationem habetur est intercutaneus et aquosus, et quarta

septimana est aquosa, quia frigida et humida, sicut docet Aristoteles secundo *Posteriorum*. Quod enim dictum est de prima

septimana mensis lunaris et tercia secundum Ptholomeum intelligitur de flebotomia, quia sanguis qui per hanc purgatur venit ab interioribus et non est intercutaneus, set sanguis qui est intercutaneous blood.

<sup>35</sup> purgandus per scarificationem est intercutaneus et ideo purgatur in quarta septimana propter causam dictam. Consimile omnino est de purgacione per ventosam quia intercutaneus est.

dum cum fuerit in Mercurio. Sit itaque principium tui operis secundum bonam constellacionem Lune et ejus absenciam a nocivis stellis, et secundum ejus prosperitatem in suo ascensu.<sup>1</sup>

Cum volueris dare aliquam medicinam, vide in quo signo sit Sol, quod quidem poteris per presentem mensem cognoscere, si diligenter inspicias signa et menses in presenti spera descriptos. Si enim sit in colericico signo oportet plus acui medicina,<sup>2</sup> in melancolica plurimum. Si autem in sanguineo fuerit signo, oportet modicum acui medicinam, et <sup>10</sup>  
 85 b. si in fleumatico minus. Nam secundum rationem et qualitatem signi et rationem quando Sol prolabitur, scilicet, in signo, plus et plus constringitur ventris natura, et laxatur. Preterea diligenter est attendendum utrum Luna sit in colericico signo aut melancolico aut fleumatico. Si enim <sup>15</sup> ambo luminaria in colericis signis se receperint vel respxerint, medicina tunc alicui data parum movebit. Si vero in melancolico, aut nichil omnino aut multum parvum accipientem solvet. Quod si in fleumaticis signis Sol et Luna extiterint, facilime medicina sumpta duret, et precipue <sup>20</sup> si fuerit Luna in augmento.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Secundum Ptholomeum in *Centilogia* in receptione medicine non debet Luna esse cum Jove, quia ex bonitate Jovis confortatur in tantum natura, ut destruat effectum medicine, et ideo per contrarium debet opus dimitti quando Luna habet contrarias <sup>25</sup> disposiciones.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, quam in sanguineo et fleumatico.

<sup>3</sup> Signum colericum est siccum, et melancolicum est magis siccum, et siccum constringit. Signum vero sanguineum est humidum, et fleumaticum magis quantum ad lubricacionem, et <sup>30</sup> ideo laxant quia humidum lubricat et laxat.

5 Chapter lxxviii. *V.*

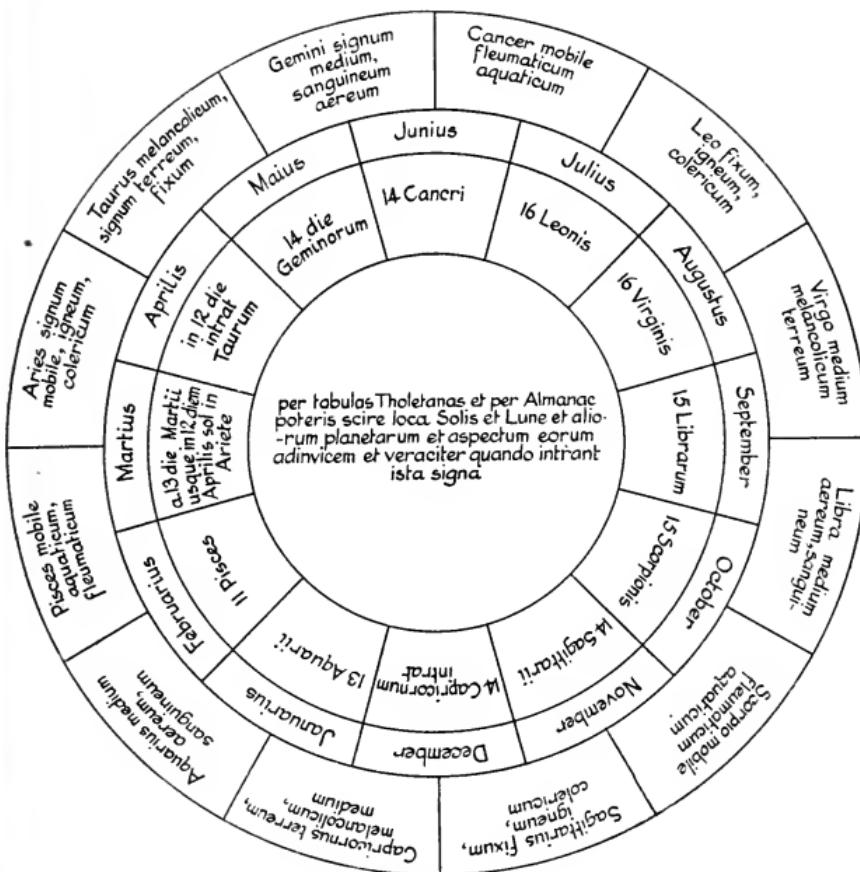
<sup>22</sup> Verb. 19 (f. 108<sup>a</sup>, ed. 1493).

Observe the position of the Sun in the zodiac,

and that of the Moon.

The best signs.

Conjunction of Moon and Jupiter.



The following foot-note in our MS. appears as part of some texts: 'Plinius dicit quod crescente Luna crescent totius corporis humores, scilicet, sputa, Scretus, et egestionum superfluitates: decrescente Luna, decrescent hec omnia. Hec nature secreta potest quilibet experiri in seipso.'

DE ASPECTU LUNE AD PLANETAS.	SEXTILIS ASPECTU.	TRINUS ASPECTUS.	QUADRATUS.	Opposicio.	Coniunctio.
SATURNI	Dies fortunata, bonum est jungi cum consilibus et senibus et agere res cum eis.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est in ea edificare, plan-tare, et res antiquas agere.	Dies timenda, Cau-dum est in ea jungi regibus et potentibus seu divitibus omnino.	Dies cavenda in om-nibus operibus et nullum in ea est bonum opus faciendum.	Dies ista cavenda est in omnibus et nullum bonum est in ea.
JUPITER	Dies laudabilis, bonum est jungi justis iudicibus et querere quod justum omnia et laudabile in omni tempore.	Dies laudabilis ad au-genda justa iudicia et et quartu[m] iustam inquisi-tionem et rem quam vult occultari et maxime petere veritatem et quod bonum et amiciciam secundum Deum.	Dies laudabilis ad justa agenda et inquisitionem sapientie et rem quam vult occultari et maxime petere veritatem et quod bonum est. Dies laudabilis fortu-nata, bonum jungi regi-bus et emere bestias et disponere exercitus, uti armis et tractare de tractare de bello.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est in ea jungi senibus et regibus et colere terras et principibus et petere principatum.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est in ea jungi regibus ac regibus potestati-bus principibus et petere ornamentum.
MARS	Dies laudabilis, bonum jungi ducibus et regibus, uti disponere exercitus, uti armis et tractare de tractare de bello.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est in ea jungi regibus et regibus et colere terras et principibus et petere principatum.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indu novis vestibus, et ornari, et nubere et querere dilectionem. et ornamentum.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indu servos et indu novis vestibus, adducere timentis novis, uti me-dicaminibus digestivis, ornamenti, uti balneis et rere causa dilectionis.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indu servos et indu novis vestibus, adducere timentis novis, uti me-dicaminibus digestivis, ornamenti, uti balneis et rere causa dilectionis.
SOL	Dies fortunata, bonum jungi consilibus et senibus et agere res cum eis.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est jungi regibus et regibus et colere terras et principibus et petere principatum.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indu novis vestibus, et ornari, et nubere et querere dilectionem. et ornamentum.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indu servos et indu novis vestibus, adducere timentis novis, uti me-dicaminibus digestivis, ornamenti, uti balneis et rere causa dilectionis.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indu servos et indu novis vestibus, adducere timentis novis, uti me-dicaminibus digestivis, ornamenti, uti balneis et rere causa dilectionis.
VENUS	Dies laudabilis, jungi juvenibus et militibus et ornari, et nubere et querere dilectionem. et ornamentum.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indu novis vestibus, et ornari, et nubere et querere dilectionem. et ornamentum.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indu servos et indu novis vestibus, adducere timentis novis, uti me-dicaminibus digestivis, ornamenti, uti balneis et rere causa dilectionis.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indu servos et indu novis vestibus, adducere timentis novis, uti me-dicaminibus digestivis, ornamenti, uti balneis et rere causa dilectionis.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est indu servos et indu novis vestibus, adducere timentis novis, uti me-dicaminibus digestivis, ornamenti, uti balneis et rere causa dilectionis.
MERCURIUS	Dies laudabilis, bonum est in ea computare, scribere, et jungi consilibus, scriptoribus, et sulibus, disponere opera.	Dies laudabilis, bonum jungi scriptoribus, fir-mare pactum, jungi con-silibus, scriptoribus, et sulibus, disponere opera.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est in ea computare, scribere, et jungi consilibus, scriptoribus, et sulibus, disponere opera.	Dies laudabilis, bonum est in ea computare, scribere, et jungi consilibus, scriptoribus, et sulibus, disponere opera.	Dies laudabilis, bonum jungi scriptoribus et computatoribus et agere omnia opera.

Cum fuerit Luna in capite vel cauda in uno signo, est dies 86 a. cavenda in omnibus operibus, et non est capiti vel caude opposicio, Aspects of the Moon.  
 neque quartus aspectus neque trinus sive sextilis. Cum fuerit Luna separata a malo, et juncta fuerit fortune, erit dies laudabilis.  
 5 Cum vero separata fuerit a fortuna et juncta malo, erit e contrario. Et cum separata fuerit a malo et non fuerit juncta fortune, erit dies cavenda. Si vero separata fuerit a fortuna et non fuerit juncta malo, erit dies tota laudabilis. Et cum fuerit Luna cursu vacua, erit dies illa inutilis, nisi tantum ad quietudinem et introitus  
 10 balneorum et usus annoe, quod est genus medicaminis quod aufert pilos; et maxime si fuerit in Scorpione. Item cum fuerit Luna juncta pluribus planetis si fuerint plures earum fortune, erit dies laudabilis. Et si fuerint plures eorum mali, erit dies cavenda; si vero fuerint equales, erit dies mediocris. Si vero fuerit con-  
 15 junccio Lune cum planetis retrogradis vel combustis aut cadentibus, erit similiter. Item cum fuerit Luna longe a conjuncione malorum, id est, cum fuerit inter ipsam et malos plures gradus, 86 b. erit ipsa dies laudabilis in operibus. Et si fuerit longe a conjuncione fortune, erit cavenda in operibus. Et si fuerit Luna in  
 20 domo vel in exaltacione sua, vel in aliqua domorum Jovis longe a conjuncione, erit dies laudabilis. Si vero fuerit in aliis locis, erit mediocris. Hoc est esse Lune in longitudine ac proximitate sue conjuncionis cum planetis tam in conjuncione quam in opposizione et in quarto sive trino aspectu vel sextili. Intellige.

25 *Explicit pars secunda de regimine sanitatis regum principum ac dominorum.*

25 de, iterat MS.

O

*Incipit pars tercia hujus libri de consideracionibus et utilibus reipublice et regnorum sive naturalibus sive moralibus, cuius capitulum primum est de alkimisticis.* |

87 a.

Properties of herbs.

Earlier treatises on plants and stones.

The uses of precious stones for ornament and health.

The greatest secret,

take the stone which is not a stone,

87 b.

**D**E proprietatibus et qualitatibus et virtutibus quā- 5  
rundam herbarum, et de earum utilitatibus, brevi tractatu in sequentibus determinabimus. In aliis siquidem libris nostris plene de proprietatibus lapidum et viribus herbarum et naturis plantarum declaravimus, et ideo que nunc sunt dicenda de plantis et de lapidibus quantum ad 10 presens opus sufficient. Set scire debes, O Alexander, quod sicut in plantis divise<sup>1</sup> sunt nature diverseque vires divinitus indite, sic et in lapidibus diverse inveniuntur species et virtutes, quarum pulcritudines et utilitates precio inestimabiles maxime et principaliter convenient regie 15 magestati; decorantur regum diademata lapidibus preciosissimis, quorum pulcritudine visus juvatur, animus delectatur, dignitas ornatur; et eorum virtute gravissime eruditudines a corporibus expelluntur, sine quibus parum efficax est medicina; et ideo utuntur medici eis in medicinis ad morbos 20 gravissimos expellendos. Ingens vero virtus et mirabilis tam in plantis quam in lapidibus est collata, set humano generi est occulta. Set nos in libro *de lapidibus* et in libro 25 *de plantis* exposuimus eorum proprietates plenius et virtutes.

Inprimis, O Alexander, tradere tibi volo secretorum maximum secretum, et divina potencia juvet te ad perficiendum propositum, et ad celandum archanum. Accipe ergo lapidem animalem, vegetabilem, et mineralem, qui non est lapis, nec habet naturam lapidis. Et iste lapis assimilatur quodammodo lapidibus moncium minerarum, et planta-

<sup>1</sup> vel, diverse.

rum, et animalium : Et reperitur in quolibet loco et in <sup>which is found everywhere,</sup> quolibet tempore et in quolibet homine : Et convertibilis est in quemlibet colorem : Et in se continet omnia elementa : Et dicitur minor mundus. Et ego nominabo ipsum nomine suo quo nominat ipsum vulgus, scilicet, terminus ovi, hoc est dicere, ovum philosophorum. Divide ergo ipsum in quatuor partes : quelibet pars habet unam naturam. Deinde compone ipsum equaliter et proporciona-  
liter, ita quod non sit in eo divisio nec repugnancia, et habebis propositum, Domino concedente. Iste | modus est 88 a. universalis, set ego dividam tibi ipsum in operaciones speciales. Dividatur itaque in quatuor, et duobus modus fit bene et sine corrupcione. Quando ergo habueris <sup>1</sup> aquam ex aere, et aerem ex igne, et ignem ex terra,<sup>2</sup> tunc habebis plene artem. Dispone ergo substanciam aereum per dis- crecionem,<sup>3</sup> et dispone substanciam terream per humidi- tatem et caliditatem <sup>4</sup> donec convenient et conjungantur, et <sup>5</sup> non discrepent nec dividantur. Et tunc adjunge eis duas virtutes operativas, aquam et ignem, et tunc comple-  
bitur opus. Quia si permiseris aquam solam<sup>6</sup> dealbabitur,<sup>7</sup> et si junxeris ignem<sup>8</sup> rubefaciet,<sup>9</sup> Domino concedente.

Et pater noster Hermogenes qui triplex<sup>10</sup> est in philo- sophia optime prophetando dixit :

Veritas ita se habet et non est dubium, quod inferiora superioribus et superiora inferioribus respondent.

<sup>1</sup> id est, separa quodlibet a quolibet. <sup>2</sup> complete.

<sup>3</sup> id est, per modos proprios et discretos qui docentur in hac arte.

<sup>4</sup> quia per aquas acutas debet teri et ablui, et per calorem ignis vel solis torri.

<sup>5</sup> ut.

<sup>6</sup> scilicet, cum aere et terra.

<sup>7</sup> id est, fiet argentum (vel faciet).

<sup>8</sup> scilicet, ad aquam et aerem et terram.

<sup>9</sup> id est, faciet (vel fiet) aurum.

<sup>10</sup> triplex quia fecit, scilicet, naturalem, moralem, et methaphysicalem, sub naturali habetur alkimia.

<sup>22</sup> Chapter lxxxii. V. Two chapters (p. 173) in the Achillini text come before this, found in Book XIII of the Hebrew text.

Operator miraculorum unus solus est Deus, a quo descendit<sup>1</sup> omnis operacio mirabilis.

Sic omnes res<sup>2</sup> generantur ab una sola substancia<sup>3</sup>, una sua sola disposizione.

Quarum pater<sup>4</sup> est Sol,<sup>4</sup> quarum mater est Luna.<sup>5</sup>

Que portavit ipsam naturam per auram in utero,<sup>6</sup> terra impregnata est ab ea.<sup>7</sup>

Hinc<sup>8</sup> dicitur Sol causatorum pater, thesaurus miraculorum, largitor virtutum.

Ex igne<sup>9</sup> facta<sup>11</sup> est terra<sup>10</sup>.

Separat terrenum ab igneo,<sup>12</sup> quia subtile dignius est grossus, et rarum spisso. Hoc fit sapienter et discrete. Ascendit enim de terra in celum, et ruit de celo in terram.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> per creacionem et regimen universale mundi.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, naturales.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, celestis.

<sup>4</sup> scilicet generans et producens sub Deo.

<sup>5</sup> Sic omnes res, scilicet, naturales, istud potest exponi alkimi-  
stice et figurative de auro et argento, quia in rebus humanis  
temporalibus omnia fiunt per aurum et argentum. Unde per  
solem potest intelligi aurum et per lunam argentum, et hic est mos  
alkimistarum. Et terra quantum ad res humanas impregnatur  
et fecundatur per argentum, et aurum est pater miraculorum, et  
cetera, id est, per ipsum fiunt miracilia in humanis rebus.

<sup>6</sup> scilicet, qui est terra, quia, scilicet.

<sup>7</sup> Quia a virtute Lune dependent naturales proprietates rerum ;  
sicut enim ipsa crescit et decrescit, sic omnes res inferiores  
habent suis modis crementum et decrementum. Et quia Luna  
est propinquior terre, ideo recipit virtutes omnium stellarum cum  
propria virtute, propter quod est tanquam uterus plenus fecunditate  
et fetibus, quibus terra impregnatur, id est, recipit virtutem et  
fetum ab ea, et producit res infinitas.

<sup>8</sup> id est, similiter.

<sup>9</sup> id est, ex colera. <sup>10</sup> id est, melancolia.

<sup>11</sup> Ex igne facta, est alkamisticus intellectus sub figurativis locu-  
cionibus que exponuntur hic breviter sicut omnia istius capituli,  
quia magna et longa exposicio traditur in libris alkamie, de quibus  
nullo modo posset tradi sciencia hic propter prolixitatem, nec decet  
propter secretorum magnitudinem.

<sup>12</sup> scilicet, per separationem terre ab igne.

<sup>13</sup> Per distillationes, scilicet, et sublimaciones usque ad summi-  
tatem vasorum et iterum colligitur in fundo eorum, quia sepius  
fiunt sublimaciones et distillationes earum rerum.

Et inde interficit<sup>1</sup> superiorum et inferiorem virtutem.

Sic ergo dominatur<sup>2</sup> inferioribus et superioribus | et tu 89 a.

dominaberis sursum et deorsum, tecum enim est lux lu- Alchemical  
ninum,<sup>3</sup> et propter hoc fugient a te omnes tenebre. Virtus change.  
5 superior vincit omnia.<sup>4</sup>

Omne enim rarum agit in omne densum. Et secundum  
dispositionem majoris mundi currit hec operacio, et propter  
hoc vocatur Hermogenes triplex in philosophia.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> id est, operacio alkimiste interficit, id est, corruptit et mutat  
10 qualitates rerum sensibiles inferiorem virtutem scilicet, rem supra  
quam operatur, que primo inferius est in vasis convenientibus et  
postea sublimatur et distillatur et sic fit superior, et sic interficitur, id  
est, corruptitur et mutatur a qualitatibus vilioribus ad nobiliores.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, hec sciencia vel operacio alkimie.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, liber quem fecit ei qui vocatur *lux lumen*, in quo  
clarius exposuit hanc scienciam alkimie.

<sup>4</sup> id est, operacio artis virtuosa que superat et vincit omnia que  
hic fiunt.

<sup>5</sup> Omne enim rarum agit in omne densum, ut scilicet, hec medi-  
20 cina preparata quia rara est in fine et subtilis, agit in densum, scilicet,  
in metallum vile quod densum est ut fiat nobile, sicut cum plum-  
bum fit aurum et cuprum argentum.

*Acice lapidem animalem, etc.* (p. 114). Omnes auctores propter  
magnitudinem secretorum occultant scienciam alkimie per verba et

The preserva-  
tion of the  
secrets of  
alchemy.

25 opera methaphorica et figurativa, et hoc eis inspiravit Deus ut soli  
sapientissimi et optimi eam percipient propter bonum reipublice pro-  
curandum. Lapis igitur sumitur primo methaphorice pro omni eo

What is the  
philosophers  
stone?

super quo incipit operacio alkimie. Et hoc potest esse res mineralis,  
ut sulphur et arsenicum, set melior est res vegetabilis ut fructus et

In material it  
may be made  
from blood,  
broken up into  
its humours,

30 partes arborum et herbarum, optime vero sunt res animales ut  
sanguis ovum et capilli, et maxime partes hominis, et inter illas

and recombin-  
ed with mercury.

sanguis, in quo ad oculum distinguntur quatuor humores, scilicet,  
fleuma, colera, sanguis, et melanolia. Alkimista igitur querit

separare hos humores ab invicem et purgare quemlibet a quolibet.

35 Et cum per difficultia opera fuerint redacta ad puras simplicitates suas, tunc commiscentur secreta proporcione et certissima, quibus

It is a very  
difficult and ex-  
pensive task.

additur argentum vivum postquam mortificatum fuerit et sublimatum pluries. Similiter calx sive pulvis metalli vilioris de quo fiet

89 b.

nobilius. Et similiter nobilioris. Et post hec incorporentur  
40 ad invicem donec fiant unum corpus. Et tunc proicitur in

metallum vilius liquatum et fit nobilius. Set in omnibus hiis sunt  
opera difficilima et magnarum expensarum ad que opera soli

sapientissimi et divites | possunt pervenire. Per hec expone  
capitulum hoc. Et coleram vocat ignem, quia dominatur in ea,

45 At foot off. 89a : 'alterans, introducens, determinans et figens.' corr.

**R**89 b. *Capitulum secundum de mirabilibus lapidibus.*

A stone which  
floats in storms.

No enemy can  
stand against its  
bearer.

Two other stones,  
red and white,  
found in salt  
marshes:

the white floats  
after sunset;

90 a.  
the red floats  
in daytime.

The red stone  
makes all horses  
neigh;

the white stone  
keeps them  
silent.

The stone in the  
mouth of a  
litigant shows  
the justice of his  
cause.

The subject of  
the following  
treatise.

Explanation of  
the four  
humours.

**E**T de mirabilibus hujus mundi est lapis ille qui pugnat cum aquis et ventis: vides enim assurgere super aquas quando currunt aque cum ventis, et nascitur in mari Mediterraneo. Cujus proprietas est hec; si arriperis hunc lapidem et posueris ipsum in alio lapide, et tecum portaveris, non est possibile quod aliquis exercitus possit durare contra te vel tibi resistere, set fugiet precipitanter coram te.

Sunt et duo alii lapides preciosi mirabilis virtutis qui inveniuntur in locis tenebrosis, quorum unus est albus et alter est rubeus, et reperiuntur in aquis salinaticis<sup>1.</sup> Eorum operaciones sunt hee; albus incipit apparere super aquas in occasu solis et permanet in superficie aquarum usque ad medietatem noctis et tunc incipit descendere deorsum, et in ortu solis proveniet ad profundum: | lapis vero rubeus contrarium operatur, quia incipit apparere in ortu solis usque ad meridianam horam, et incipit occidere usque ad occasum solis. Horum lapidum proprietates sunt hee: si suspenderis de lapide rubeo unum pondus denarii in uno equo tui exercitus, equi exercitus tui non cessabunt hinnire donec auferas ipsum lapidem. Et operacio lapidis albi est per contrarium quod nunquam hinnient donec eum tollas. Valent ergo multum ad insidias excercendas et ad opus exercitus. Proprietas istorum lapidum est hec: si duo litigaverint adinvicem, ponatur albus lapis in ore alterius; si ei pertineat justicia, loquetur incontinenti; alioquin obmutescit quamdiu fuerit in ore ejus. Lapis vero rubeus per contrarium operatur.

Et ego determinabo tibi proprietates et virtutes lapidum et incantamentorum et de quibusdam plantis in sequenti tractatu.

et humorem aereum qui est in loco sanguinis in rebus inanimatis vocat aerem, et flegma in quo dominatur aqua sive habundat vocat aquam, et melancoliam in qua dominatur terra vocat terram; et hoc figurative secundum proprietatem hujus sciencie.

<sup>35</sup> id est, salsis vel marinis.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter lxxxii. V.

*Capitulum .3. de generali cognitione sive universalis plantarum mirabilium.*

TU plene novisti ex precedentibus tractatibus meis in quibus trac~~t~~tavi tibi de naturalibus et secretis nature, quod <sup>90 b.</sup> gradus et disposicio plantarum est post gradum et dispositionem mineralium, secundum essenciam. Et quod quelibet planta recipit formam propriam secundum suam originem et naturam a superioribus naturis<sup>1</sup> vincentem et dominantem in ea. Et vincens in plantis est aqua natura, et in mineralibus lapidibus est terrea natura. Recipit ergo natura plantarum extensionem sicut idem recipit aquam per motum et impulsionem ventorum in suo loco. Et sicut aqua est diversarum figurarum, quia in eo sunt multe figure, sic accidit in plantis, quia omnes figure reperiuntur in plantis. <sup>The disposition of plants.</sup>

Est itaque vincens in plantis aqua, et non extenditur nisi per diffusionem. Et operator dissolutionis aquarum est perpetuus, incessanter operans in suo celo, Mercurius scilicet; quoniam universaliter verum est quod unusquisque planeta regit et disponit et convenit et assimilat quedam sue nature. Verbi gratia, Saturnus tenet terram, Mercurius <sup>Mercury is the planet of water.</sup> aquam, Jupiter aerem, Sol ignem. Et non reperitur hec conveniencia<sup>2</sup> in planetarum operibus mutabilibus, set in <sup>91 a.</sup> operacionibus quas semper habent continuas et perpetuas per virtutem superiorem universalem,<sup>3</sup> que est super omnes virtutes,istarum operacionum. Et hic non est locus ad demonstrandum de hiis arduis, set ideo feci mencionem quia necessarium et nimis utile est tibi propter sequentem tractatum in quo determinabimus de singularibus et individuis quarundam vegetabilium plantarum. Cognicio igitur pro-

<sup>30</sup> <sup>1</sup> id est, a celestibus.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, rerum inferiorum ad eos.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, per virtutem Dei et angelorum et per naturam universalem.

Philosophers and prietatum istarum rerum spectat ad philosophos, cognicio  
physicians. vero operacionum naturalium spectat ad medicos.<sup>1</sup>

Plants governed  
by Saturn,

by Mercury,

by Mars,

by the Sun.

Two or more  
planets govern  
a plant.

How plants are  
propagated.

Each kind of  
plant has its own  
disposition from  
its planet,

and its properties  
are enhanced by  
those of the  
planet.

The anima  
rationalis co-  
ordinates them.

The properties

Et nolo tuam clemenciam latere (vel prudenciam), quia omne carens lumine de numero vegetabilium a Saturno regitur et ei attribuitur. Et quicquid vegetabilium est 5 floridum luminosum a Mercurio regitur et ei attribuitur. Et quicquid vegetabilium est floridum non ferens fructum, Marti attribuitur et per ipsum regitur. Omne enim vegetabile floridum et fructuosum Soli attribuitur et per ipsum regitur. Deinde compone et junge | has divisiones, et 10 dicas omne vegetabile ferens fructum non florens, sicut est palma, attribuitur Saturno et Soli. Et omne floridum non ferens fructum causatur a Mercurio et a Marte.

Item quedam vegetabilia sunt per ramos <sup>2</sup>, quedam per semina, quedam nascuntur sine semine et sine plantacione. <sup>15</sup> Patet ergo luce clarius ex predictis quod quelibet species vegetabilium habet dispositionem propriam que<sup>3</sup> complexionatur, et imitatur virtutem unius planete, et ei assimilatur et attribuitur, et habet aliam proprietatem que<sup>3</sup> associatur et attribuitur virtute duorum planetarum <sup>4</sup> vel plurium, secun- 20 dum quod potest suscipere. Et juvat unamquamque proprietatem ejus quod ei attribuitur, scilicet, illa virtus naturalis planete,<sup>5</sup> scilicet, que<sup>6</sup> disponit suam speciem in colore et sapore et odore et figura. Et anima rationalis omnes istas proprietates et virtutes colligit,<sup>7</sup> quoniam 25 occurunt ei et inmutantur per eam<sup>8</sup>; | et facit eas durare per tantum temporis quantum sibi diffiniunt et designant ex sua virtute, quia non est actus sine motu et non est operacio sine Deo<sup>9</sup> nec sine termino.

91 b. 92 a. Et sic invenies quamdam speciem vegetabilium nocivam, 30

<sup>1</sup> propter corpora humana.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, plantatos. <sup>3</sup> qua. <sup>4</sup> sicut exemplificatum est.

<sup>5</sup> scilicet, planete sicut exemplificatum est.

<sup>6</sup> que virtus, scilicet, planete.

<sup>7</sup> per suam industriam.

<sup>8</sup> scilicet, per studium et experientiam, ut patet in confectione medicinarum.

<sup>9</sup> qui dat scienciam anime omnem.

et quamdam speciem sanativam. Et quedam species of plants are  
generat leticiam, et quedam gaudium, et quedam facit diverse and  
amorem, et quedam odium. Quedam ferentibus ipsam strange.  
tribuit reverenciam et honorem, et quedam abjeccionem  
5 tribuit et contemptum. Et quedam facit videre falsa sompnia, quedam verissimam visionem. Quedam generat probitatem et fortitudinem, et quedam pigriam et debilitatem. Quedam sanant corpora et servant a venenis mortiferis, quedam corrumpit corpora et infert mortem. Et ego  
10 faciam tibi mencionem de hiis speciebus cum argumentis et probacionibus manifestis.<sup>1</sup>

*Capitulum .4. de plantis in speciali mirabilibus, scilicet, de 9<sup>2</sup> b.  
qualitate et proprietate quarundam plantarum et virtute.*

**I**lla quippe species vegetabilium que generat reverenciam The plant which  
15 et honorem est quedam arbor habens folia convoluta, brings reverence  
forma vero est rotunda, et fructus ejus similis<sup>2</sup>. Virge and honour to  
ipsius arboris sunt humide et odor suavissimus. Qui igitur its wearer.  
evellit ipsam in nomine suo<sup>3</sup> et portat secum, pro certo adquirit sibi reverenciam et honorem.

20 Est et alia arbor que surgit in longitudine unius brachii A plant which  
habens folia longa, humida, habencia in se lineas albas. exalts the  
Qui vero portaverit de substancia illius arboris exaltabitur. bearer.

Est et alia arbor habens folia sua jungencia et ejus Another brings

<sup>1</sup> De ista doctrina Aristotilis sciendum est hic, quod sicut As with free will  
25 dictum est in principio libri vel a principio libri, quod virtutes and the stars,  
celorum et stellarum non cogunt liberum arbitrium set mutant complexiones corporum, ad quarum mutationem excitatur mens, so with the  
ut sine coaccione velit gratis illud ad quod excitatur; sic est hic sympathetic properties of  
de virtutibus lapidum et vegetabilium, quod mutant et alterant stones and  
30 complexiones, et complexiones alterante alterant animos ad varios plants.  
effectus et opera sine coaccione voluntatis, sicut homo per species 9<sup>2</sup> b.  
et virtutes rerum presencium excitatur ad varios affectus, ut per species amicorum et sociorum excitatur ad multa, et per res speciosas ut mulieres, et per cibos et potus presentes, et per res inimicos et per medicinalia bona et mala excitatur ad multa.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, folio.

<sup>3</sup> id est, pro se ipso.

valour and  
success in strife.

palmites exceduntur super terram, cuius odor bonus. Qui istam portaverit erit levis, probus, letus, et audax: cum isto vero bonum est pugnare vel litigare, quoniam suus adversarius subcubit, et ipse in suis operibus triumphabit.

Et de speciebus arborum est quedam species que habet | 5

93 a. cuspides et plantatur et habet folia oblonga, et amittit folia sua antequam ferat flores, et habet tres flores oblongos, rubeos, suavis odoris. Qui ipsos flores comedit, accidit ei risus atque gaudium. Qui vero evellit eam cum cuspide et foliis, et suggit florem cogitando de aliqua persona feminea, 10 facit eam succendi in amorem ejus.

Est et alia arbor que vocatur androsmon que nascitur in terra Sin, et est complexa habens folia sicca et parva nimis, et semina nimis parva, rotunda, intrinsecus alba. Si tu ergo sumpseris septem grana de seminibus in nomine ali- 15 cuius persone, et triveris ea in nomine ipsius in ortu Luciferi et Veneris, ita ut radiis ipsorum tangant ipsa, si dederis ei bibere, scilicet, illa septem grana trita, aut comedere, permanebit timor tuus et amor in corde suo et semper obediet tibi toto tempore vite sue. 20

Et de speciebus plantarum est quedam planta que generat langorem, cuius cuspis plantatur, cuius palmites extenduntur

93 b. per unum brachium, cuius flores sunt albi precedentes folia, non ferens fructum. Proprietas ipsius est Martis et Mercurii; ejus natura est ignea et aerea. Qui portat hanc herbam secum 25 nunquam illo tempore erit sine langore donec reiciat ipsam.

Est eciam de genere plantarum quedam herba sanativa, cuius semina seminantur, cuius racemi sunt quadrati, cuius folia sunt rotunda, cuius flores sunt celestis coloris, cuius semina sunt rubea, cuius odor suavis, boni effectus. Qui 30 biberit ex ea vel odoraverit ejus odorem sanabitur de cattarro vel de melancolia et de sollicitudine et de timore et de frenesi et frigore, et de multis aliis infirmitatibus.

Est<sup>1</sup> (eciam alia planta que dicitur fertilidon, cuius proprietas est generare odium et contemptum.) 35

<sup>1</sup> aliter, hec generat odium (*in marg.*).

12 androsinon (*in marg.*) 34-5 Omitted in MS.

Another makes  
any woman  
thought of to  
burn for love of  
the bearer.

A Chinese plant  
which makes a  
man obedient  
and faithful.

Another causes  
langour.

Another cures  
catarrh and  
melancholy, &c.

A plant which  
causes hate.

Et alia planta que dicitur macrafon, et hec est validissima A plant which causes love.  
ad amorem et reverenciam.

O Alexander, perfeci tibi quod promisi tibi recitare, et Be virtuous in your use of these secrets.  
solvi plena solucione, esto ergo semper virtuosus triumphator,  
5 et Deus gloriosus te regat et dirigat et custodiat ; cuius |  
bonitatem omnis percepit creatura. 94 a.

*Capitulum .5. de mirabilibus justicie et de bonis que nascuntur ex ipsa.*

A

Iusticia est commendacio (sive condicio) laudabilis de What Justice is.  
10 proprietatibus Altissimi simplicis et gloriosi. Unde et regnum debet esse ejus quem Deus elegit et constituit super servos suos, cui committenda sunt negotia et regimina subditorum, qui debet speculari et defendere possessiones et divicias ac sanguinem subditorum et omnia opera eorumdem, Justice is likened to God.  
15 sicut deus eorum. Ergo in hoc assimilandus est Deo, et ideo oportet regem assimilari et imitari Altissimum in omnibus suis operibus. Deus vero sapiens est atque sciens, et ejus preconium<sup>1</sup> et ejus nomina gloria sunt in ipso, et magnitudo ejus dominii major est omnibus et supra commendacionem: nem, ergo et sapientia ejus est supra omnem commendacionem:  
20 contrarium ejus<sup>2</sup> injuria et ejus oppositum est injusticia.

In justicia extiterunt celi creati et constituti sunt super terram: in justicia eciam missi fuerunt prophete sanctissimi. The heavens and earth are founded on justice.  
Justicia autem est forma intellectus quam creavit Deus glorio-  
25 sus, et perduxit creature suam ad ipsum, et per justiciam 94 b.  
edificata est terra et constituti sunt reges, et obediunt et The praise of Justice.  
domesticantur subditi; per ipsam domesticat terrible<sup>3</sup> et appropinquat remotum,<sup>4</sup> et salvantur anime et liberantur ab omni vicio, et erga reges suos ab omni coruptione.

30      <sup>1</sup> aliter, a. (preconia).

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, Dei.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, hostes et inimici.

<sup>4</sup> ut gentes remote a justis regibus et imperatoribus venerunt ad amiciciam eorum et subjeccionem propter justiciam eorum sicut historie docent.

A king's justice  
is better than  
good weather.

The saying of  
the Chaldees.

Understanding  
is the final cause  
of a king's  
deeds.

95 a.  
Justice and  
understanding.

Justice, open or  
hidden.

A king in his  
justice likened  
to the Most  
High.

Et propter hoc dixerunt Indi, Justicia regnantis utilior est subditis quam fertilitas temporis. Et adhuc dixerunt: dominator justus melior est quam plurima fortuna. Inventum eciam est (scriptum vel) sculptum in uno lapide, lingua Caldea: Rex et intellectus sunt fratres alter altero indigens, nec sufficit unus sine reliquo. Et omnes res in universo creantur a justicia, et ipsa est causa<sup>1</sup> intellectus qui ponit ejus esse et (essenciam vel) operacionem. Ipsa<sup>2</sup> est actus ejus. Ipse<sup>3</sup> est judex justus, ergo et essentia justicie et radix ejus ab intellectu, et ipse<sup>4</sup> est operans et deducens eam ad hoc ut sit, ipsa<sup>5</sup> est ejus potencia et operacio, | ipsa est ejus intencio et ipsa<sup>6</sup> est speculacio sciencie<sup>7</sup>. Ipse, id est, finis intellectus est judex operans et recipiens id quod per- venit ex actu<sup>8</sup>, et in eo quod<sup>9</sup> recipit est ipsa justicia.<sup>10</sup>

Apparet autem quod justicia est duplex, manifesta et occulta. Manifesta, quando manifestatur ex actu operante justa opera; in condicionibus justicia est recta ponderata et mensurata per ipsum intellectum,<sup>11</sup> et judicium ex ipsa sortitur nomen. Occulta, vero, est fidelis credulitas judicis operantis opera sua<sup>12</sup> et certitudo ac conformacio suorum dictorum.

Apparet ergo, ut prediximus, quod rex assimilatur in justicia simplici Altissimo, et propter hoc convenit ei ut sit firmus et summus in omnibus operibus suis, propriis et communibus. Qui ergo declinat a propria vel communi justicia, non est justicia Dei in eo; set ille justiciam Dei

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, finalis quia intellectus operatur propter justiciam, et justicia dei est causa efficiens, quia justicia dei fecit intellectum et omnia.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, justicia.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, Intellectus.

<sup>4</sup> intellectus.

<sup>5</sup> scilicet, justicia.

<sup>6</sup> justicia, scilicet.

<sup>7</sup> scilicet, sue: hoc est intellectus quia hanc speculatorum.

<sup>8</sup> suo justo.

<sup>9</sup> scilicet, intellectus.

<sup>10</sup> scilicet, ex actu justo: est quodammodo, scilicet. Hoc dicit propter nimiam convenientiam et conformitatem justicie ad intellectum justum, ut non solum dicatus justus set quasi ipsa justicia.

<sup>11</sup> et patet cuilibet.

<sup>12</sup> id est, quando fideliter credit operari et dicere justa judicia licet non appareat hominibus.

habet<sup>1</sup> qui considerat quid possit<sup>2</sup> justicia Altissimi, et quod voluntas ejus sit in hiis que vult Altissimus. Et qui credit totaliter in hoc, quia per ejus fidem consequitur legem que est perfecio dominii. | Et prout apparebit justicia in 95 b. 5 operibus suis, complectitur corda subditorum, qui prout apparebunt opera sua, sic fient et sencie(n)t opera<sup>3</sup> subditorum de ipso, et judicabunt subditi de ipso.

Et proprietas justicie et communitas sunt in diversis gradibus, et transgressiones justicie inde differunt. Et Justice is relative.

10 justicia est nomen relatum<sup>4</sup> ad aliquid dictum, et justicia est correccio injurie et rectitudo statere et fortitudo status rerum et forma mensure, et est collectivum<sup>5</sup> nomen spectans ad curialitatem et ad modos largitatis et ad operacionem bonitatis. Et justicia dividitur in divisiones, quia est justicia

15 que spectat ad judicium apud judices, et est justicia pertinens ad hominem in raciocinio<sup>6</sup> sui ipsius, et in hiis que sunt inter se et Creatorem suum. Statue ergo justiciam in hiis que sunt inter te et populos, scilicet, commensuraciones morum et federa signata ac firmata per justiciam. Et ego

20 exemplificabo tibi formam laudabilem sapienciam philoso- 96 a. phicam valde caram, que monstrabit tibi quicquid est in hominibus universaliter, que complectitur regnum subditorum et demonstrat gradus eorum, et qualitates et radices ejus, quod oportet habere de justicia in quolibet gradu.

25 Dividitur ergo in duas divisiones circulares<sup>7</sup> spericas, et The likeness in ea que continentur cum eis, et quelibet divisio est unus divided into two gradus. Incipe ergo a quavis divisione et dabit tibi illud circles,

<sup>1</sup> in eo.

<sup>2</sup> poscit.

<sup>3</sup> erga ipsum.

30 <sup>4</sup> quia refertur ad multa, ut ad Deum et proximum et seipsum regendum, et ad judicia et causas judicandas ut subjungit. .

<sup>5</sup> quia justicia colligit multa ut subjungit.

<sup>6</sup> id est, in rationali regimine secundum apostolum; 'racionabile obsequium vestrum' [Rom. xii. 1].

35 <sup>7</sup> dividitur ergo in duas divisiones circulares, etc., scilicet, celestes 96 b.

et elementares que sunt, circulares et sperice partes mundi que a Deo create sunt ordinata justicia naturali. Et alia pars justicie est in rebus contentis in eis et precipue inter homines, et prosequitur de utraque parte justicie, scilicet, naturali et legali sive

<sup>1</sup> possit corrected to poscit

Natural and civil justice.

like those of the  
firmament.

quo nichil est preciosius, videlicet, circulum firmamenti cum aliis circulis celestibus et angelicis spiritibus qui sunt in celis. Et quando<sup>1</sup> fuerunt ordinaciones sive regimina tam in inferioribus quam in superioribus ad conservanciam hujus mundi, visum est mihi debere incipere tali modo in mundo,<sup>5</sup> et hec est utilitas hujus libri et hec est ejus figura.<sup>2</sup>

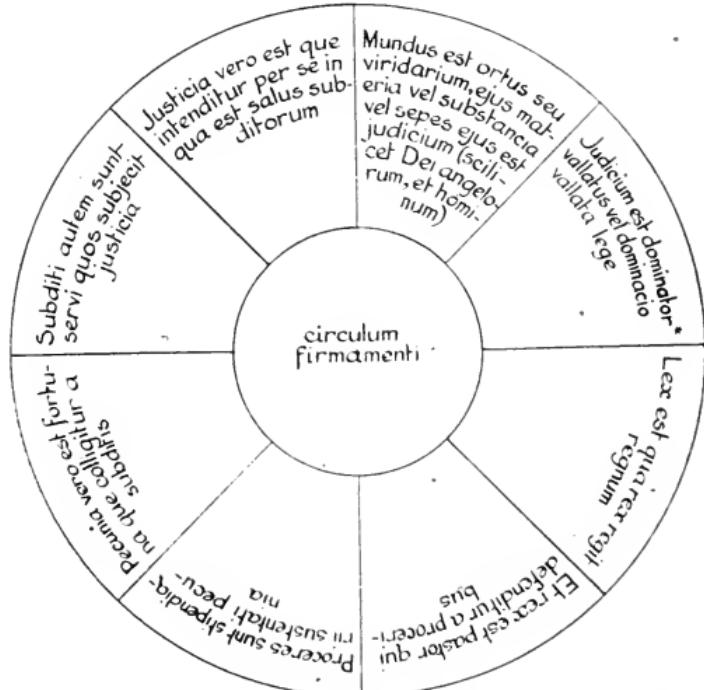
### A *De creacione primordialis materie.*

Mundus est ortus seu viridarium, ejus materia (vel substancia vel sepes ejus) est judicium (scilicet Dei angelorum et hominum): Judicium est dominator | vallatus (vel dominatio vallata) lege: Lex est qua rex regit regnum: Et rex est pastor qui defenditur a proceribus: Proceres sunt stipendiarii sustentati pecunia: Pecunia vero est fortuna que colligitur a subditis: Subditi autem sunt servi quos subjecit justicia: Justicia vero est que intenditur perse, in qua est salus subditorum.<sup>15</sup>

morali et civili. Naturalis justicia refertur ad creacionem mundi et partium ejus. Civilis justicia refertur ad judicium Dei et angelorum de hominibus et ad justiciam hominum inter se.

<sup>1</sup> aliter, cum.

<sup>2</sup>



*This figure does not appear in any Latin MS. but is found in the Arabic and Hebrew.*

*Capitulum sextum de creatis, in quibus attenditur justicia  
naturalis et quot sunt celi.*

B

**S**Cias quod illud primum quod creavit Altissimus gloriosus <sup>The Most High first created intelligences,</sup> est simplex spiritualis substancia<sup>1</sup> in fine perfectionis et 5 complementi bonitatis, in qua sunt forme rerum omnium, et vocatur intelligencia; <sup>2</sup> et deinde ex alia substancia<sup>3</sup> exivit <sup>4</sup> then the *anima universalis*, alia substancia minor gradu suo | que vocatur universaliter <sup>97 a.</sup> anima.

Et alia substancia est que vocatur hyle<sup>5</sup> (aliter, et pro- <sup>then the *hyle*,</sup> 10 gressa fuit ex illa anima alia substancia que vocatur hyle),

<sup>1</sup> *Simplex substancia etc.*, cum velit hic quod substancia angelica sit simplex, intelligendum est quod dicitur simplex per privacionem materie corporalis et per privacionem quantitatis: est tamen vere composta ex materia et forma spiritualibus, et sic 15 anima, secundum quod vult secundo *Methaphysice* quia substancie incorporee habent materiam.

<sup>2</sup> quam Christiani dicunt angelum. *Forme rerum omnium*, scilicet, creatarum, quas philosophi et theologi vocant non solum formas set species et similitudines rerum, quia angeli per illas <sup>Angels.</sup> 20 species cognoscunt sicut anima rationalis recipit species et similitudines rerum.

<sup>3</sup> id est, ex alia materia spirituali et alia forma secundum speciem, etc.

<sup>4</sup> scilicet, per creacionem a Deo factam.

<sup>5</sup> *Hyle* est materia corporalis omnium rerum corporalium et est <sup>Materia corporalis.</sup> ante commensuracionem quantitatis, ante, scilicet, in ordine nature non temporis, vel ante commensuracionem quantitatis determinate alicujus corporis specialis, ut ante celum et elementa quatuor et mixta. Ante tamen, per ordinem nature non temporis, 30 quia hec materia est res hujus generis, substancia corporea, que tamen creata fuit a principio mundi in celo et elementis et mixtis, quia res generis non potest esse per se set semper sub altera specierum suarum vel sub utroque, et hoc est corpus simpliciter ut dicit hic, id est, corpus in communi et universale ad omnia corpora, ut celum et generabilia et corruptibilia, scilicet, ad elementa et mixta. Et huic sentencie concordat Averoys dicens quod <sup>Corpus simpliciter.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chapter lxxxvi. V.

<sup>9</sup> The second of these readings is that usually found. It is added in the margin.

ante commensuracionem, que extenditur in longitudinem et latitudinem et profunditatem, in quo factum est corpus simpliciter.

Deinde corpus habens figuram nobilissimam que superat omnes figuram et est verior comparative et antiquior et remansit in loco uno sperarum et planetarum id quod fuit purius ex eo et quod fuit simplicius.

Prior ergo sperarum est spera circumdans usque ad terminum spere Lune. Et sunt decem celi, unum intra aliud infra se invicem. Prima ergo et superior sperarum est spera circumdans<sup>1</sup>: deinde infra ipsam spera siderum. Post quam est spera Saturni, et sic usque ad speram Lune,

97 b.

materia habet dimensiones interminatas, quia corpus in universale habet dimensiones ante in ordine nature quam celum et elementa et mixta, que habent dimensiones determinatas per suas naturas specificas, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Spera circumdans*, scilicet omnia, scilicet celum nonum, et est celum aqueum et empireum, ut intelligamus hos duos celos hic ab Aristotile comprehendi sub spera continente, quia primo *Methaphysice* facit mencionem de celo decimo quod est empireum, circumdans, scilicet, omnia visibilia: et hec habet duas speras, scilicet, celum empireum et celum aqueum. Hii duo celi sunt invisibles mortalibus et circumdant .8. celos inferiores et .4. speras elementorum, unde quatuordecim sunt spere mundi. De istis autem decem celis non solum theologi set philosophi loquuntur, ut antiquissimus Pictagoras et Aristotiles in secundo *Methaphysice*, in translacione Boecij, et Messalama astronomus in libro *De causis orbis*, et commentator Ptolomei super *Almagesti*. Novem enim celos ponunt philosophi, et quod nonum sit aqueum ignoraverunt, set pauci philosophi posuerunt decimum nec nominaverunt ipsum nomine speciali, quod est empireum: illi tamen quos nominavi posuerunt decimum. De his speris celorum et elementorum reperitur exposicio superius ante librum hunc, et similiter figuracio.

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### 8 Chapter lxxxvii. V.

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### 9 decem] novem V.

<sup>16</sup> *Footnote in MS.*: ‘Substancia corporea, est primum subjectum generationis et corruptionis, et cum res reducitur ad illud tunc vocatur materia prima rerum generabilium et corruptibilium, quia res illius generis est in potentia ad omnia generabilia et corruptibilia.’

then the place  
of the spheres.

The sphere of  
the Moon.  
Ten heavens

from the outer  
sphere to that  
of the elements.

The ninth  
sphere.

Are there nine or  
ten spheres?

scilicet, post quam est spera Jovis, et post spera Martis, et post spera Solis, et post spera Veneris, et post spera Mercurii, et post spera Lune, infra quam est spera elementorum que sunt ignis, aer, aqua, terra. Ergo terra est in medio <sup>The earth is in the midst.</sup> 5 elementorum omnium, et est densior substancia inter corpora et spissior essencialiter.

Et postquam ordinate fuerunt hec spere, quedam in quibusdam in se ipsis, sicut dictum est, juxta sapienciam et dispositionem simplicis Gloriosissimi in dispositione 10 mirabili et pulcritudine ordinatissima, mote sunt spere circulariter | in suis partibus, et planetis super elementa .4. <sup>98 a.</sup> et viciscitudinaliter super ea, et facta sunt nox et dies, et hyems et estas, et estus et frigus, et commixta<sup>1</sup> sunt quedam in quibusdam, et contemperatum est rarum cum 15 denso,<sup>2</sup> et quod in eis erat ponderosum cum eo quod est leve, et calidum cum frigido, et humidum cum sicco. Et tunc composite sunt ex eis ex longitudine temporum 20 universe species compositorum corporum et contem- p(er)ate, que sunt originalia sive minere<sup>3</sup>, et vegetabilia, et animalia.

Sunt ergo originalia quecunque congelantur in visceribus terre, et in profundis marium, et in concavitatibus moncium, et tumorositatibus<sup>4</sup> inclusis, et ex vaporibus ascendentibus, et ex humiditatibus congelatis in concavitatibus cavernarum, 25 in quibus aqueitas et terrestritas magis dominatur,<sup>5</sup> sicut <sup>Originals (fossils); where found,</sup> aurum, argentum, es, ferrum, plumbum, et stagnum, lapides margarite, corallus, vitreolum, alumem et hujusmodi similia, que | videntur et cognoscuntur. Animal vero est omne <sup>98 b.</sup> genus quod movetur et sentit et transit de loco in locum <sup>Animals and vegetables.</sup> 30 per seipsum, et aeritas in ipso magis dominatur. Vege-

<sup>1</sup> sicut locata in locantibus quia superiora continent inferiora.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, in spera mundi.

<sup>3</sup> minere dicuntur originalia quia prima oriuntur et fiunt ex elementis, postea vegetabilia, postea animalia.

<sup>4</sup> vel, ex fumositatibus.

<sup>5</sup> quia in metallis dominatur aqua et in omnibus liquabilibus, set in aliis dominatur terra sicut docet libro *Meteororum*.

tabilis<sup>1</sup> vero composicio nobilior est originali<sup>2</sup>: animal vero nobilius est in compositione quam sit vegetabile<sup>3</sup>.

Homo vero nobilior est in compositione universorum animalium et ignetas in eo magis dominatur, et convenierunt in ejus compositione omnia universe res que pariuntur et inveniuntur in entibus simplicibus et compositis, quia homo est ex corpore denso commensurato et ex anima que est simplex substancia spiritualis.

*Capitulum 7. quod anima propria cuiuslibet primo debet sciri a quolibet, et de divisione virtutum anime et de regiminiibus et statibus anime in hac vita et futura.*

**T**E vero oportet si tu es sciens supra sciencias et veritates encium et existencium, quod tu incipias in primis a cognitione tue anime que propinquior est tibi ceteris aliis, deinde post hanc habere scienciam ceterorum.

Scias ergo quod anima universalis est vis spiritualis orta post intelligentiam<sup>4</sup> voluntate divina, et habet tres vires currentes in corporibus sicut lumen solis in partibus aeris,

99 a. una virium est intellectiva, secunda est sensitiva, tercia est vegetativa, quam<sup>5</sup> illustravit gloriosus Deus septem viribus,<sup>20</sup> que sunt attractiva, retentiva, digestiva, expulsi(v)a, nutritiva, generativa, informativa. Operacio ergo hujus vis generative in comparacione<sup>6</sup> corporis humani est in recepcione spermatis in vulva, et in ejus disposicione durat per septem<sup>7</sup> menses, et postquam perfecerit hoc tempus quod premensuratum<sup>25</sup> est ab altissimo Deo gloriose et sublimi, tunc transmittit

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, rei.

<sup>2</sup> id est, minerali.

<sup>3</sup> Vegetabilia sunt arbores et herba et omnia que nutriuntur et crescent in terra et ex terra.

<sup>4</sup> id est, angelii.

<sup>5</sup> scilicet, vegetativam.

<sup>6</sup> seu preparacione et informacione, et ideo comprehendit hic virtutem informativam cum generativa.

<sup>7</sup> scilicet ad minus, plures tamen nascuntur in nono mense et pauci in septimo et sunt debiles.

9 Chapter lxxxviii. V.

<sup>8</sup> *Footnote in MS.*: ‘Nota bene illud capitulum de cognitione anime pre omnibus, et non recedat a corde quod in fine capitulo dicit philosophus.’

Man the most noble.

Obtain a knowledge of your own soul.

The soul has three strengths:

intellectual, sensitive, and vegetative.  
Of this there are seven forces.

The vegetative virtue lasts seven months after conception,

when the child

ipsam animam<sup>1</sup> animalis sensibilis de illo loco<sup>2</sup> usque ad egressionem ad habitaculum, scilicet, hominum, et adquirit aliud regimen<sup>3</sup> usque ad complementum .4. annorum.<sup>4</sup> Deinde reddit ipsum puerum virtuti rationabili, que immutat<sup>5</sup> nomen vel naturam sensibilium, et tunc adquirit aliud regimen usque ad complementum .14. annos, quia in .15<sup>mo</sup>. anno potest generare. Et tunc adest vis intellectiva denunciativa figurarum seu similitudinum, et interpretaciones sensibiliu[m], et adquirit aliud regimen usque ad complementum .30. annorum.<sup>6</sup> Tunc advenit vis judicialis, seu philosophica que speculatur formas intellectuales, et tunc adquirit aliud regimen usque ad complementum .50. annorum. Tunc accidit vel adest ei virtus regitiva voluntaria, et tunc habet aliud regimen usque ad complementum .70. annorum. Tunc venit virtus legalis plantativa originalium,<sup>7</sup> et adquirit inde aliud regimen usque ad finem vite.<sup>8</sup>

Si ergo anima sit perfecta et completa ante separacionem ejus a corpore, perficietur a virtute<sup>9</sup> universalis, que<sup>10</sup> sublimatur per ipsam<sup>11</sup> et deducitur usque ad supernam per-

<sup>1</sup> cum corpore suo.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, de utero.

<sup>3</sup> id est, in hoc mundo in terra, scilicet, in quo habet aliud regimen quam in utero.

<sup>4</sup> .4. annorum quia ante non habuit usum racionis, quia beatus Gregorius in *dialogo* docet quod puer .5. annorum fuit raptus a demone propter blasphemias.

<sup>5</sup> que inmutat, quia virtus rationalis dat nomina sensibilibus rebus: post .4. annos puer vocat res nominibus suis.

<sup>6</sup> quia tunc plena fortitudine mentis et corporis viget homo secundum sapienciam sacram, et beatum Hieronimum et alios; et ipsa philosophia et experientia propria certificat.

<sup>7</sup> id est, constitutiva legum. *originalium*, id est, legum a quibus successores sumunt originem suarum legum quas ipsi addunt.

<sup>8</sup> Nota quod distincio jam facta etatum sive parcium vite colligitur principaliter ex Sacra Scriptura et doctrina scienciarum et similiter ex philosophia, set nimis longum esset auctoritatibus et racionibus explicare. Etas vero ultima est conditiva legum propter perfectionem sapiencie que in illa viget, saltem in prima parte ejus.

<sup>9</sup> id est, cum virtute.

<sup>10</sup> scilicet, anima.

<sup>11</sup> scilicet, virtutem universalem.

receives the *anima sensibilis*.

At 4 he receives reason;

at 15 he gets the *vis intellectiva*;

at 30 he gets judgement;

at 50 the power of self-government;

at 70 of law-making.

If the soul is made perfect before death, it passes to the firmament of the intelligences;

This classification has the authority of Scripture.

feccionem, et tunc adquirit aliud regimen donec perveniat ad circulum seu firmamentum intelligencie<sup>1</sup> cui bene complacuit.

if not, 100 a. Si vero non,<sup>2</sup> anima dilabitur | usque ad abyssum inferiorum : deinde recipit eam regimen sine spe placendi Deo. 5  
it sinks to hell.

**C** *Capitulum .8. de .5. sensibus corporis servantibus intellectui, sive de homine et ejus .5. sensibus quasi de rege et ejus .5. bajulis vel consiliariis.*

When God made man He gave him laws as to a state, and made understanding its ruler,

and gave five chamberlains to assist in ruling.

Each of them has a distinct office and a common means of communication.

These chamberlains are the five senses.

100 b.

**O** quando ergo creavit Deus altissimus hominem et fecit eum nobilissimum animalium, ei precepit,<sup>3</sup> prohibuit,<sup>4</sup> i0 punit,<sup>5</sup> remunerat<sup>6</sup> eum, et constituit corpus suum civitatem quandam, et ejus intellectum regem in ipsa, et collocavit eum in nobilio loco ipsius hominis et superiori, quod est caput. Constituit ei .5. bajulos<sup>7</sup> regentes ipsum, presentantes ei quecumque sibi sunt necessaria et ea quibus juvatur, custodi- dientes nichilominus ipsum ab omni eo quod est ei nocibile. Et non habet existenciam nec perfectionem nisi per ipsos, et constituit cuilibet istorum .5. bajulorum seu sensuum suum judicium proprium quo differt et separatur ab aliis compaginibus, et habent modum communem quo communi- cat aliquis cum aliis. Et generatur ex colleccione et con- venientia judiciorum essencia et perfectione suorum operum.

Ergo .5. bajuli predicti sunt .5. sensus qui sunt in oculo, in aure, in naso, in lingua, in manu.

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, sui angelii. Intelligenzia hic vocatur substancia <sup>25</sup> spiritualis angelica et divina, vel si solum intelligatur, intelligatur angelica et supendum est quod per eam ducetur ad Deum.

<sup>2</sup> dum perfecta fuerit anima.

<sup>3</sup> id est, dedit precepta que sunt decem mandata.

<sup>4</sup> peccata.

<sup>5</sup> pro peccatis.

30

<sup>6</sup> pro virtute.

<sup>7</sup> scilicet, quinque sensus.

<sup>9</sup> Foot-note in M.S. in same hand as text: 'Hoc dicit quantum ad eviden- ciam operationum, quia infradicta membra sunt radicalia organa et instru- menta sensuum, ut patet per eum alibi et per Avicennam melius, primo libro de *Anima*.'

Sensata<sup>1</sup> ergo oculi sunt visibilia que sunt .22. species, The twenty-two species of the que sunt lux et tenebre, color, remocio, situs et propinquitas, sense of sight. corporeitas, figura, magnitudo, continuacio, discrecio vel separacio, numerus, motus, quies, asperitas, levitas, diaphoneitas, spissitudo, umbra, obscuritas, pulcritudo, turpitudo, similitudo et diversitas. Multa tamen collocantur<sup>2</sup> et comprehenduntur<sup>3</sup> sub hiis.

Sensata vero auris sunt auditus sonorum, et sunt due species soni, scilicet, animalis sonus et non animalis. Sonus Two kinds of sounds, animal and non-animal. vero animalis est duplex, scilicet, rationalis et irrationalis. Rationalis pertinens ad loquaciam humanam, irrationalis Two of animal, rational, and sonus sunt hinitus equi, garritus avis, et hiis similia.

Sonus vero non animalis, ut fragor arborum et collisio Non-animal sounds. lapidum et hiis similia quibus non inest vita, sicut tonitruum, timpanum, fistula. Scias eciam quod quelibet vox in ordine The passage of sound through the air. suo universo, quando movetur aer deferens ipsam, movetur cum ipso ipsa spiritualitas<sup>4</sup> nobilis, ita ut non commisceatur pars cum parte<sup>5</sup> donec perveniant usque ad ultimum apud sensum scilicet, auditum, | tunc enim desertur per ipsum ad 101 a. virtutem ymaginativam.

Sensatum vero lingue fit per viam gustus, et saporis .9. The nine species of the sense of sunt species, scilicet, dulcedo, amaritudo, salsedo et unctuositas, acetositas, insipiditas, ponticitas, stipticitas, et acuitas.

Et sensus qui est in manum est in vi tactiva seu palpativa, et cursus ejus in calido et frigido,<sup>6</sup> aspero et leni, et in omnibus predictis de visu preter lucem et colore. Et vis its seat. tactiva est insita et contenta inter duas pelles, quarum una

<sup>1</sup> id est, que ab oculo senciuntur. <sup>2</sup> scilicet, alia.

<sup>3</sup> ut patet secundo Perspective (i.e. Alhazen).

<sup>4</sup> que vocatur ab eo et ab aliis species sive virtus multiplicata in sensum que est similitudo ipsius soni per quam auditus cognoscit sonum, et sic est de omni sensu.

<sup>5</sup> set continue ordinata multiplicacione sine confusione.

<sup>6</sup> humido et sicco.

est in superficie corporis et alia manet in eo quod spectat ad carnem.

Sensatum naris<sup>1</sup> sive olfactus qui est quintus sensus est odor, cuius species secundum naturam sunt tot quot sunt saporis, set quia homo inter omnia animalia habet pejorem odorem, ideo non distinguit discrete species odoris omnes set extremos quia maxime differunt, ut odor suavis et fetidus sive horribilis.

Quando ergo adquisitus est quilibet istorum sensuum quos Deus contulit huic regi, scilicet intellectui, oriuntur ex 10 radice cerebri pelles subtile斯 lenes, sicut tele aranearum, et sunt quasi velamen | et cortina huic regi.<sup>2</sup> Quando ergo presentatur id quod habet quilibet sensus et provenit illud usque ad illas pelles que sunt in ipsa substancia cerebri, tunc congregantur vestigia sensatorum<sup>3</sup> apud virtutem yma- 15 ginativam, que representat ea virtuti cognitive que est in medio cerebri ut speculetur ea et colligat et studeat in earum figuris, et exemplis, et cognoscat in eis juvativa et nociva, et ut operetur juxta mensuram que provenit ei ex illis. 20

Constitucio ergo et existencia corporis existit in istis quinque sensibus prenominitatis. Perfeccio ergo cuiuslibet rei est in .5. rebus. Planete namque quorum moventur spere circulariter sunt .5. ut Saturnus, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercurius.<sup>4</sup> Et genera animalium sunt .5., scilicet homo, 25 volatile, et aquaticum, et gressibile<sup>5</sup>, et quod serpit supra ventrem. Et quinque sunt sine quibus non perficitur aliqua planta que nascitur ex terra nisi concurrant et convenient in ea, et sunt stirpes et rami et folia et fructus et radices.

<sup>1</sup> narium.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, intellectui.

30

<sup>3</sup> id est, species et similitudines.

<sup>4</sup> quamvis enim large sumendo Sol et Luna dicuntur planete, tamen secundum Scripturam et philosophiam distinguntur ab aliis et vocantur luminaria.

<sup>5</sup> id est, quadrupes.

35

<sup>9</sup> Chapter xciv. V.      <sup>21</sup> Chapter xcv. V.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is missing in most texts.

The sense of smell.

Man has the worst smell.

Light skins run from the root of the brain,

101 b.

through which the sensations reach the imaginative virtue,

and pass to the cogitative virtue in the midst of the brain.

The excellency of the number five;

spheres.

kinds of animals,

parts of trees,

Et .5. sunt toni musicales | qui si non essent non perficeretur <sup>102 a.</sup>  
 aliquis cantus et sonans. Et quinque sunt dies nobiles de <sup>best days in the  
year,</sup>  
 universis diebus anni, in ultima parte Maii. Et quinque <sup>ports of the sea.</sup>  
 sunt porte maris.

5 Capitulum nonum de consiliariis regis et de modo consilii.

**S**int ergo bajuli tui .5. et consiliarii tui quinque in comprehenditione operum tuorum, et quilibet eorum sit <sup>Have then 5  
chamberlains  
and 5 counse-  
lors.</sup> separatus, quia tunc utilior est tuis operibus. Reserva ergo tuum secretum, et ne incipiás eis dicere quod habes in corde, <sup>Listen to their  
advice,</sup> 10 et non ostendas alicui eorum elecciónem consilii quod apud te est, et non indica eis quod velis ab eis mendicare<sup>1</sup> consilium quia tunc contempnerent te, nec eis consilium tuum indicas. Tempta ergo in anima tua eorum voluntates, sicut <sup>weigh it,</sup> 15 facit cerebrum<sup>2</sup> ex hiis quo proveniunt ei ex sensibus, et <sup>and do what you  
think best.</sup> de-clina ab eorum consiliis in eo quod contrariantur voluntati tue.

Et propter hoc dixit Hermes quando fuit interrogatus <sup>Hermes' advice  
on asking coun-  
sel.</sup> quare judicium ejus qui dat consilium melius est judicio querentis consilium, respondit: Quoniam judicium querentis querentis consilium exploratum est a voluntate.<sup>3</sup> Et hoc | 20 verbum est verum. Quando ergo congregas eos pro aliquo <sup>102 b</sup> consilio dando in tua presencia, non immisceas aliud consilium cum eis, audias ergo in quo conveniunt. Si ergo festinanter respondent et concordant cito, resiste eis tunc in hoc et ostende eis contrarium ut prolongetur eorum cogitacio | 25 et retardentur ad ultimum cogitantes sive in consilio<sup>4</sup> meditantes donec per multam meditacionem perveniant ad ultimum et finem consilii.

Quando ergo percepseris rectitudinem consilii in verbis <sup>Do not let them  
guess your de-  
cision.</sup> eorum, vel in verbis alicujus eorum, fac eos conquiescere, et | 30 non manifestes eis vel ostendas in quo voluntas tua quiescat

<sup>1</sup> vel, vendicare. <sup>2</sup> id est, anima que est in cerebro.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, querentis et examinatum et deliberatum.

<sup>4</sup> adunato.

5 Chapter xcvi. V.

<sup>13</sup> Tempta] tempora *V* <sup>17</sup> melius] minus MS. <sup>19</sup> exploratum] ? expolitum

donec egrediatur in actum et experientiam. Et considera subtiliter et diligenter quis magis dicit ad rectitudinem consilii, et juxta mensuram amoris quam habet erga te et desiderium et in prosperitate tui regiminis recipias ejus consilium.

*Do not make them jealous of one another by unequal rewards.*

103 a. Et cave ne preponas alterum alteri set adequa<sup>1</sup> eos in donis et gradibus et in omnibus operibus suis. Quid ergo magis est causa destruccionis regni et operum regis in prolixitate dierum ac temporum quam exhibere | majorem honorificenciam quibusdam bajulorum supra quosdam, set ipsi debent esse pares. Et quia non est inconveniens homini quando salubre habet consilium sectari illud et operari, ideo nichil sine consilio faciendum est.

*Nothing should be done without advice.*

*Capitulum decimum de varietate complexionis et morum per constellacionem nativitatis, sive de varietate judicii et consilii et consulencium, et corum eleccione per constellaciones in nativitatibus suis que confirmantur per pulera exempla.*

*Judgement follows the body.*

**E**T ego dico tibi quod judicium imitatur corpus; quando ergo debilitatur corpus debilitatur judicium.

*Consider the nativities of your counsellors.*

Et est consideranda genesis<sup>2</sup> in quibusdam, quia generatus sepe disponitur juxta naturam planetarum et vim que sunt in regione sue geneseos<sup>3</sup> sive generacionis. Et si forte contingat quod genitores genitum doceant aliquam arcium, natura superior<sup>4</sup> trahet (vel attrahet) eum multociens ad artem sideris sibi convenientem.

*The tale of the weaver's son,*

Nam simile huic accidit quibusdam hominibus qui con- 25  
venerunt in quadam villa et hospitati fuerunt apud quendam

---

<sup>1</sup> propter invidiam et discordiam, quia tunc machinantur cogitationes pessimas.

<sup>2</sup> sive nativitas, id est, tempus nativitatis illius qui debet eligi pro consiliario regis et hoc docet per exemplum mirabile in artibus et scienciis; et ita est de potestate consilii et prudencia consulendi, quia constellacio bona disponit bene complexionem, et complexio excitat animum ad amorem talis artis vel talis. Et sic est de potestate consilii.

<sup>3</sup> hec genesis, hujus geneseos secundum grecam declinacionem. 35

<sup>4</sup> vel, orum [superiorum].

textorem cui natus est in illa nocte filius, cujus genesis hospites acceperunt et ordinaverunt ejus planetas. Fuit ergo ejus genesis in Venere et Marte, gradu suo existente Geminis cum Libra,<sup>1</sup> sidera vero contraria et pessima nondum fuerunt orta. Ostendit ergo cis genesis quod puer erat futurus sapiens, curialis, velocis manus, boni et ydonei consilii, et diligendus a regibus. Occultaverunt ergo hoc, celantes a patre. Crevit ergo natus in prosperitate, et crediderunt ac nisi sunt genitores ejus instruere eum aliquam artem de operibus suis. Set ex toto nichil potuit ex hiis addiscere. Verberantes autem ipsum et flagellantes gravissime, exposuerunt ipsum voluntati sue. Inclinavit ergo se juvenis ad homines possidentes disciplinam et adquisivit sciencias et scivit cursus et tempora supercelestia et mores ac regimina regum, et ecce! factus est bajulus regis et dominator magnus potens valde.

Contrarium huic accidit ex mirabilibus operibus et dispositionibus planetarum et naturis eorum id quod evenit | in duobus natis regis Indie, facta comparacione ad genesis, set occultum fuit regi. Quando ergo crevit unus puerorum credidit rex eum instruere scienciis; misit ergo eum per Indiam et per alias provincias honorifice, sicut decuit filium tanti regis, set nichil profuit diligencia patris, quia non potuit inclinare animum suum et naturam, nisi ad artificium fabrile. Propter quod turbatus est rex valde convocavitque sapientes omnes sui regni, qui requisiti omnes conveniunt in hoc quod relinqueretur hiis ad que natura pueri reducebat eum. Factum est ergo ita, et multociens accidit huic simile sicut est satis cognitum.

*Capitulum. II. adhuc de leccione consulencium, et de variis articulis corum et consiliorum, sive de consiliario eligendo et de consilio in omnibus agendo et perquirendo.*

**O** Alexander, noli contempnere parvam staturam in hominibus, et quem videris diligere scienciam et

<sup>35.</sup> <sup>1</sup> quia Venus fuit in Geminis, Mars in Libra.

<sup>30</sup> Chapter xviii. V.

born under  
Venus and Mars.

and so to be  
wise and courtly.

who could not  
learn his craft,

and became a  
great counsellor.

The King's sons  
of India.

One who could  
not learn,

but would be  
a smith.

Despise not wise  
men of small  
stature.

habundare in via sapientie et morum et declinare ac fugere  
semitam viciorum : talem ergo dilige et habeas juxta te, et  
precipue tunc quando videris ipsum excercitanteim animum  
suum in hiis virtutibus. Talis enim consuevit esse bone  
eloquacie, et bene morigeratus, curialis et sciens historias 5

104 b. eorum qui nos precesserunt | de gentibus. Non preponas  
Encourage them  
and treat them  
well.  
ergo aliquid faciendum vel postponas absque ejus consilio.  
Dilige ejus societatem, quia talis diligit veritatem et quod  
decet regiam magestatem consulit et removet contrarium.  
Firmus est in animo, constans in corde, fidelis et justus sive 10  
rectus suis subditis. Scias ergo hoc. Tale enim consilium<sup>1</sup>  
rectificat bajulos et ordinat et augmentat regnum regum.  
Nec facias aliquid prepostere, preponendo postponenda et  
postponendo preponenda. Nichil penitus agas sine consilio  
philosophico. Philosophi enim dixerunt quod consilium 15  
est oculus futurorum.

Counsel is a  
sight of things  
to come.  
A king reprobred  
by one of his  
counsellors for  
asking advice in  
full council  
about a secret  
revealed by  
a favourite  
queen.

Et in libris Persarum legitur quod quidam rex eorum  
consuluit barones suos et quesivit consilium a bajulis suis  
super quodam secreto valde quod fuit revelatum regine<sup>2</sup>  
cuidam dilecta ab eo. Respondit ergo unus eorum : Non 20  
oportet quod rex querat aliquod consilium a nobis super  
aliquo suo facto vel secreto, set separatim querat a quolibet  
secretum suum. Quia in secretis consiliis talia revelantur  
uni que non communiter coram pluribus vel multis dicuntur,  
nec debent revelari multis : sic ergo perfice. Profecto ergo 25

105 a. dico | quod non oportet hoc fieri in omnibus operibus, immo  
convenit ut hoc fiat cum consideracione. Convenit eciam  
quod vocentur ad presenciam tuam in prosperitatibus suis  
in ligando et solvendo secundum proprietates<sup>3</sup> arguendo  
atque solvendo sicut premisimus : quoniam quidam philoso- 30  
phorum dixit quod regis sapientis sapiencia augmentabitur  
per consilium bajulorum bonorum, sicut augmentatur equor<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> vel, quod talis consilium (*in another hand*).

<sup>2</sup> vel, regi per quemdam dilectum ab eo.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, ingenii cuiuslibet ut consultant.

<sup>4</sup> id est, mare.

per recepcionem fluminum et aquarum. Et poterit multa adquirere per prudenciam et per consilium que non poterit habere per potentiam bellatorum.

Et in libro cuiusdam Medorum mandatum est filio suo: The Mede's  
counsel to his  
son.  
5 Fili, necessarium est tibi habere consilium<sup>1</sup>, quoniam<sup>2</sup> unus es in hominibus.<sup>3</sup> Consule ergo illum<sup>4</sup> qui poterit liberare a potente. Et noli parcere inimico set in quantum et quantumcunque et quoconque modo honesto poteris tuam in ipso victoriam manifesta, et in quolibet tempore.

10 Cave tibi a potencia inimici, nec habundancia tui sensus in tua credulitate, nec altitudo tui status in temetipso impedit quin semper agrebes tuo consilio consilium alienum, Always have  
other people's  
advice, 105 b. quoniam alienum si placet et sit tibi utile amplectendum est et implendum, et tuum semper remaneat penes te. Si whether you take  
it or no.  
15 vero discrepent a tuo arbitrio, tunc est tuum examinare et considerare, et si est juvamentum et utile super eo quod considerasti, amplectere ipsum, et si est inutile, abstine ab eodem.

*Capitulum .12. de numero bajidorum, et quod non consti-  
tuatur unus solus bajulus in regimine, set .7. si poterit fieri,  
vel tres ad minus, et de bajulis experiendis temptandis et probandis, et de signis quibus cognoscitur an boni an mali  
sint consiliarii.*

25 **S**ollcite et diligenter moneo te et do tibi optimum con- Never pu  
a single coun-  
sellor in power.  
silium quod nunquam constituas unum bajulum solum in regimine loco tui, quoniam ejus consilium posset destruere et corrumpere regnum tuum et convertere subditos et proceres ad se et intendere propriis utilitatibus et excogitare declinacionem tuam,<sup>5</sup> et multa alia que longum esset enarrare. Si forte non occurrant tibi quinque bajuli qui If you cannot  
find five, do not  
have less than  
three.  
tibi placeant sint saltem tres et non minus, quia maximum

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, aliorum.

<sup>2</sup> aliter, quia.

<sup>3</sup> et unus non sufficit sibi.

<sup>4</sup> ipsum.

<sup>5</sup> ut, scilicet, regnum declinaret a te et ad eum.

bonum proveniet ex hoc, scilicet, ex tribus, quia nisi tertius |

<sup>106 a.</sup> esset nichil penitus nosceretur. Quia primum super quod fundate sunt omnes res est trinitas,<sup>1</sup> et per quinarium medi- antur, et per septenarium perficiuntur. Quia .7. sunt celi, et .7. planetae<sup>2</sup> et .7. sunt dies, et circuitus Lune septenarius, et dies pacionis seu medicine sunt septem, et dies peryodi<sup>3</sup> sunt .7. et multa alia spectant ad septenarium numerum quorum enumeracio esset longa.

*De temptatione bajulorum.*

Et unum ex hiis quibus temptare poteris bajulum quem-<sup>10</sup> libet tuum est quod ostendas ei te indigere pecuniam. Si ergo ducat te ad distraccionem eorum que sunt in thesauro tuo, et ostendat hoc esse expediens, scias quod nullum capud precii ponit in te.<sup>4</sup> Et si inducat te ad recipiendum pecuniam subditorum, erit corrupcio regiminis, et odient te ultra<sup>15</sup> modum. Si ergo exponat tibi quod habet, et dicat: Hoc est quod de tua gracia et dominio tuo adquisivi: offerens ipsum tibi, iste est merito comendandus et omni laude dignus, utpote eligens et volens confusionem sui ipsius pro tua gloria.

20

<sup>106 b.</sup> Temptabis eciam bajulos | tuos in donis et muniberibus faciendis. Quem ergo illorum videris conari et intendere super hiis ultra modum, nullum bonum speres in eo. Et ille bajulus qui anelat pecunie acquirende, et ad thesauros observandos, non confidas in eo, quia ejus servicium est propter aurum, et dimittit pecuniam currere cum sensibus hominum, et est profunditas<sup>5</sup> sine fundo,<sup>6</sup> et non est in

<sup>1</sup> que est trinitas divina.

<sup>2</sup> hic comprehendit duo luminaria, scilicet Solem et Lunam sub numero planetarum cum prius magis stricte sumpsit numerum planetarum.

<sup>3</sup> id est, septimane, in morbis acutis quorum ultima dies est dies crisis. ‘Peryodus’ vero est ‘circuitus’.

<sup>4</sup> id est, non appreciatur te. <sup>5</sup> scilicet, cupiditatis.

<sup>6</sup> scilicet, quod quantum plus habet tanto plus cupiditatis. Hic est sensus hominum, ut prius dicit.

eo terminus sive finis, quia quanto magis crescit pecunia  
crescit intencio acquirendi et sollicitudo. Et hoc in bajulo <sup>who often bring</sup>  
est causa corrupcionis regni multis de causis, quia forte <sup>a realm to</sup>  
amor pecunie et ardor inducet eum ad tuam mortem vel ad  
5 illum qui ad hoc intendit.

Et ideo conveniens esset quod tuus bajulus non elonga-  
retur a tua presencia, et precipias ei quod non habeat <sup>Do not let your</sup>  
tractatum vel frequenciam cum aliquo regum ex regibus,  
et non legat<sup>1</sup> eis epistolam nec mittat eis nova. Et cum  
10 perceperis talia, muta eos sine mora,<sup>2</sup> quoniam animi veloces  
sunt et facile declinant ad promissiones et contrarias volun-  
tates. Et utilior ex bajulis tuis est qui magis diligit vitam <sup>The most useful</sup>  
tuam et obedienciam, et qui magis inducit subditos ad tuum  
honorem et amorem, et qui exponit tibi res suas et | per- <sup>counsellor.</sup> 107 a.  
15 sonam ad placitum, et qui habet has virtutes et mores quos  
enumerabo.

*Capitulum .13. de specialibus condicionibus, sive de bonis  
moribus et virtutibus optimi bajuli.*

I Nprimis oportet quod habeat perfeccionem membrorum <sup>The virtues of</sup>  
20 que convenient operacionibus pro quibus eligitur et <sup>a good coun-</sup>  
propter que. <sup>sellor:</sup>  
(1) perfect in body,  
(2) clear understanding,

Secunda bonitate apprehensionis et voluntatem ad intelli-<sup>(3) good memory.</sup>  
gendum id quod dicitur.

Tercio quod sit bone memorie ejus quod audit et appre- <sup>(3)</sup>  
25 hendit, ita quod nichil tradat oblivioni.

Quarto quod sit considerans et percipiens quando in- <sup>(4) thoughtful,</sup>  
greditur difficultas, sicut predixi.

Quinto quod sit curialis, affabilis, dulcis lingue, ita quod <sup>(5) courtly and</sup>  
lingua cordis concordet et respondeat cogitationi, sit eciam <sup>affable</sup>  
30 expedite lingue seu cloquencie.

<sup>1</sup> id est, mittat.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, ad prandia et dona et munera et honores.

(6) skilled in sciences,  
especially arithmetic.

Sexto quod sit penetrabilis in omni sciencia, et precipue in arte arithmeticā que est ars verissima demonstrativa qua attrahitur natura.<sup>1</sup>

(7) truthful,

Septimo quod sit verax in verbis, diligens veritatem, fugiens mendacium, bone compositionis in moribus et bone complexio[n]is, suavis mansuetus et tractabilis.

(8) sober,

Octavo quod sit sine nota crapule et ebrietatis in cibo et potu, et sine nota coitus, declinans ludos et delectacionem.

(9) courageous.

Nonum est quod sit magnanimus in proposito et diligens honorificenciam. |

(10) not covetous,

107 b. Decimum quod aurum et argentum et cetera accidentalia hujus mundi sint contemptibilia apud ipsum, et non sit ejus propositum nec intencio nisi in hiis que convenient dignitati et regimini, et quod diligit proximum et remotum.

(11) a lover of justice,

Undecimum quod diligit et amplectetur justos atque iusticiam, odio habens injuriam et offensam, reddens unicuique quod suum est, subveniens oppressis et hiis qui injuriam paciuntur, removens penitus omnem injusticiam, nullam penitus faciens differenciam in personis et gradibus hominum quos<sup>2</sup> Deus creavit e[st] equales.

(12) strong and persevering,

Duodecimum est quod sit fortis et perseverantis propositi in hiis que sibi videntur agenda, audax sine timore vel pusillaminitate.

(13) economic...

Tercium decimum est quod sciat omnes exitus expensarum, et non lateat eum aliqua utilitas que ad ipsum regnum spectat, et non conquerantur subditi sui aliquo modo querimonie nisi in permissis casibus, in quibus prodesse poterit.

(14) taciturn.

Quartum decimum est quod non sit verbosus vel emittens multos risus, quia temperancia multum placet hominibus, | 30 exhibens se curialiter hominibus et benigne tractans.

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<sup>1</sup> scilicet, intellectus qui omnia reperit numeris distincta et ordinata.

<sup>2</sup> homines.

(15) keeping open  
court to suitors.

Quintumdecimum quod sit de numero non utencium vinum et alia xennia, et sit curia sua patens omnibus advenientibus, et quod sit intendens ad explorandum et inquirendum nova de omnibus, confortans subditos et corrigens opera ipsorum, consolando eos in adversitatibus, deferens quandoque et tollerans illorum simplicitatem.

*De naturis et conditionibus hominis.*

D

Scias ergo quod non creavit Deus gloriosus creaturam sapientiorem homine, et non colligit in aliquo animali quod in eo collegit. Et non potes reperire in aliquo animalium consuetudinem vel morem quem non invenies in homine. Quoniam audax est ut leo, timidus ut lepus, largus ut gallus, avarus ut lupus, iracundus ut canis, durus et hastatus ut corvus, durus et austerus ut cervus, pius ut turtur. maliciosus ut leena, privatus et domesticus ut columba, versipellis et dolosus ut vulpis, simplex et mitis ut agnus, velox et agilis ut capriolus vel hinniculus, tardus et piger ut ursus, preciosus et carus ut elephas, vilius et stolidus ut asinus, rebellis et parvus<sup>1</sup> ut rex vel regulus, obediens et humilis ut pavo, fatuus ut strucio,<sup>2</sup> utilis ut apis, dissolutus et vagabundus ut caper (vel aper), indomitus sicut taurus, mutus ut piscis, rationabilis ut angelus, luxuriosus ut porcus, maliciosus ut bubo, utilis sicut equus, nocivus ut mus. Et universaliter non reperitur animal aliquod seu vegetabile seu originale vel minerale, nec celum sive planeta nec signum, nec aliquod ens de omnibus entibus, habens aliquid proprium, quin illud proprium inveniatur in homine: et propter hoc vocatus est minor mundus.

Man unites in himself all the qualities of animals:

lion, hare, cock,

wolf, dog, crow,

deer, turtle-dove,

lioness, dove, fox,

lamb, kid,

bear,

elephant, ass,

wren, peacock,

ostrich, bee,

goat, bull, fish,

angel, pig, owl,

horse, mouse,

<sup>1</sup> aliter, pravus.

<sup>2</sup> quia ponens ova sua in pulvere obliviscitur ea aspiciendo ad stellam quandam in celo, et postea cum ea invenit fracta et conculcata pedibus animalium, dolet et luget multum.

He is a micro-cosm.

E

*Capitulum .14. quod non est confidendum in homine alterius legis, vel de confidencia in homine non habenda nisi sit tue legis et professionis.*

Have no trust in  
misbelievers.

The tale of the  
Mage and the  
Jew,

who met on  
a journey.

109 a.

The Mage asked  
the Jew of his  
law.

The Jew said  
he worshipped  
one God, and  
was good to all  
Jews,

and kept faith  
with no other  
sort of man.

The Mage said:  
<sup>‘I do harm to no  
creature of God;</sup>

if any living man  
is hurt, it is an  
evil to me,

109 b.

**E**T nunquam spes in homine qui non credit legem tuam. Et cave ne accidat tibi quod accidit duobus hominibus qui dicuntur associati fuisse in uno itinere, quorum unus erat Magus orientalis, reliquus vero Judeus. Magus equitavit mulam quam nutritivit ad placitum suum, que portabat universa necessaria sua quibus indigebat viator. Judeus vero incedebat pedes non habens | cibum nec alia necessaria. Dum ergo confabularentur adinvicem in via, dixit Magus Judeo : Que est lex tua, et que est fides tua ? Respondit Judeus : Credo quod in celo unus est Deus quem adoro, et expecto ab eo bonum anime mee et remunerationem, et illis qui convenient mecum in lege mea. Et fides mea et credulitas mea est quod qui discrepat mecum in fide mea et lege mea licitum est mihi tollere sanguinem suum,<sup>1</sup> pecuniam suam et accidens suum, id est, uxorem, parentes et genitores. Insuper maledictum est mihi si servo ei fidem vel juvo ipsum in aliquo vel facio secum justiciam vel parco ei. Consequenter, inquit Mago, demonstravi in quid tibi legem meam et fidem meam, redde ergo me certum de lege et fide tua.

Cui respondit Magus : Fides et credulitas et lex mea haec sunt. Inprimis, volo mihi ipsi bonum et filiis generis mei, et nolo alicui creature Dei malum, neque sequentibus legem meam neque discrepantibus mecum in eadem. Et credo equitatem et misericordiam servandam cuilibet viventi, et nulla injuria placet mihi. Videtur eciam mihi si quid mali accidat alicui vivencium, quod illud malum me contingat et me conturbet. Affecto cciam | prosperitatem et sanitatem et incolumentem et felicitatem accidere omnibus hominibus universaliter.

<sup>1</sup> id est, vitam suam.

Tunc, dixit ei Judeus : Quid si injuria vel offensa fiat tibi ? and if he hurts  
Cui Magus : Scio quod in celo est Deus justus, bonus, me, God will  
et sapiens, cui nichil est occultum, nichil secretum, nichil reward all men.  
penitus celatum de hiis que latent in suis creaturis, qui  
5 remunerat bonos juxta bonitates suas, malos vero et  
transgressores punit juxta transgressiones suas.

Cui Judeus : Quare ergo non servas legem tuam, ut quid The Jew said :  
non confirmas operibus tuis fidem tuam ? Magus inquit : 'Why do you  
Quomodo fiet hoc ? Cui Judeus : Ecce ego sum de filiis tui  
10 generis, et tu vides me ambulare pedes fatigatum famelicum,  
et tu es eques saturatus et quietus. Cui Magus : Veritas  
est hec : et descendens de mula aperuit manticam suam, et  
cibavit eum ac potavit, deinde fecit eum equitare equitaturam.

Postquam vero Judeus bene firmavit se in equitando, et When the Jew  
15 junxerit calcaria festinando, relinquendo Magum. Tunc mounted he rode  
cepit vociferare et dicere : Expecta me, quia confusus sum off, leaving the  
valde. Judeus vero dicebat : Nonne indicavi tibi legem 110 a.  
meam et ejus condicionem, et ego volo similiter confirmare  
eam<sup>1</sup>. Tunc festinabat Judeus mulam, et Magus sequens  
20 vestigia ejus inquit : O Judee, noli me derelinquere in hoc  
deserto ne forte interficiar a leonibus, et moriar male fame  
et dolorosa siti. Age ergo misericorditer tecum sicut ego  
tecum. Judeus vero non respiciebat retro nec intendebat  
dictis suis, nec cessavit donec latuit visum ejus.

25 Quando ergo Magus desperatus fuit de succursu, re- The Mage called  
cordatus est perfectionis sue legis et fidei sue, et ejus quod on God, the  
dixerat Judeo, videlicet quod in celo est Deus justus judex,  
cui nichil est occultum, et nichil secretum in creaturis suis  
latet. Dirigens ergo caput suum ad celum dixit : Deus  
30 meus, tu nosti quia credidi in te, in tua lege, in tuis man- 'Confirm my  
datis, sanctificavi te sicut perpendisti : confirma ergo apud praise of Thee to  
Judeum laudem meam in te. Hiis dictis, non multum ierat this Jew.'  
Magus, et ecce invenit Judeum prostratum et dejectum de Soon he found  
the Jew in evil  
case.

<sup>1</sup> ipsam.

110 b. mula, confracta tibia et lesio collo. Mula vero stabat ex opposito a remotis, que videns Magum novit dominum suum et accessit ad ipsum propter nutrituram suam. Equitans ergo Magus mulam ipsam et derelinques Judeum in periculo mortis et doloribus, recedebat. Judeus vero clamat: Bone frater, pro Deo habe misericordiam de me, quia confractus sum et morior, et indigeo pietate; miserere et observa legem tuam, quia contulit tibi victoriam qua superstasti me. Tunc cepit ipsum Magus increpare: Tu male peccasti in me, derelinquisti me sine misericordia. Cui 10 Judeus: Noli me reprehendere de re preterita, quia tibi ostendi quod hec est lex mea et fides mea in quibus nutritus sum, et inveni parentes meos et senes antiquos in hac lege perseverantes.

The Jew asked  
for mercy.

The Mage re-  
proved him.

The Jew said:  
'I have only  
obeyed my  
religion.'

The Mage had  
mercy on him

and was brought  
to great honour.

Tunc misertus est ejus Magus, et portavit eum post se 15 donec perveniret ad locum destitutum<sup>1</sup>, et ipsum tradidit genti sue, qui post dies aliquos exspiravit. Audiens ergo rex illius civitatis opera illius Magi, fecit eum vocari ad se, III a. et constituit eum bajulum | suum propter opera pia et bonitatem legis sue. 20

Laudes Deo, et finis hujus est.

## F

*Capitulum .15. de eleccione hominum prudencium et fideli-  
lium ad scribenda gesta et dicta regis, sive de scriptore  
secratorum eligendo.*

The choice of  
a good secretary  
shows the king's  
wit.

Oportet te eligere ad scribenda secreta tua opera viros pruden- 25 dentes qui sunt<sup>2</sup> forcios signum et validius argumentum ad ostendendum quantitatem tui intellectus et subtilitatem tue cogitationis, quoniam significacio sive interpretacio sermonis est spiritus ejus et dicciones sunt corpus, scriptura vero sermonis vestimentum. Sicut ergo oportet te esse 30 virum spiritualem pulcri aspectus et ornatum, ita decet quod

<sup>1</sup> destinatum.

<sup>2</sup> vel, habent.

22 Book V, Chapter cv. V.

25 Oportet] Eportet MS.

tu cligas de scribis seu scriptoribus qui habeant hanc perfeccionem in eloquencia ornata et in recordacione subtili, et sicut tuam ipse interpretatur voluntatem, et constituitur super tuis secretis et occultis, ita oportet quod sit bone fidei fidelis cognitionis in tua voluntate et in universis operibus tuis, et quod intendat tuo comodo et honori sicut oportet. Quod si non est talis, corrumpet honorem et veritatem et voluntatem tuorum factorum et dictorum. Et oportet quod sit cautus et precavens in operibus suis, ne quis ingrediatur et respiciat secreta scripta. Et condecet quod tu remuneris opera sua juxta servicium tibi exhibitum, et juxta terminum impositionis tue voluntatis ut sit sollicitus in tuo regimine. Pone ergo ipsum in gradu renumeracionis tue, quia ejus veritas tua est, et ejus corrupcio tua est.

15 *Capitulum .16. de eleccione nunciorum dignorum.*

## G

**S**Cias eciam quod nuncius seu missus demonstrat sapientem mittentis, et ejus est oculus in hiis que non videt, et ejus auris in hiis que non audit, et lingua ejus in ejus absencia. Oportet ergo eligere digniorem ex hiis qui sunt in tua presencia, sapientem, prudentem et honorabilem, considerantem, fidelem, declinantem seu fugientem omnem turpitudinem seu culpam. Et si invenias ipsum talem, voca eum et confer cum eo de hiis in quibus nescit tuum velle, et tunc percipies si est in eo<sup>1</sup> id quod queritur, quia forte ipse non est juxta hoc, set forte hec intencio est in alio. Et si non est sic in hac determinacione, sit ad minus secretarius fidelis, justus, nichil addens vel diminuens de hiis in quibus est missus, et quod sit custodiens mandatum tuum, et intendens de hiis que audit ex responsione sibi facta. | Si ergo non inveneris eum talem, sit fidelis tamen deferens litteras tuas ei ad quem mittuntur, et referens atque reportans responsionem. Et si de aliquo nunciorum tuorum

Ambassadors are  
the king's eyes,  
ears, and tongue  
in his absence.

Their qualifica-tions.

The choice of an ambassador.

At worst, let  
him be a faithful  
messenger.

<sup>1</sup> ipso.

15 Book VI, Chapter cvi. V. The MS. chapter heading adds · et nota illud capitulum sicut alia omnia'.

covetous am-  
bassadors.

perpenderis sollicitum et attentum pecunie adquirende vel colligende de locis ad que mittitur, respue eum penitus, quia non mittitur tuo comodo.

or drunkards.

Nec mittas nuncium qui diligit vinum et se inebriat, quoniam Perses in adventu nuncii instant penes ipsum ut 5 bibat vinum habundanter, quod si superflue biberit cognoscunt quod dominus ejus minus erat sapiens. Cave ne mittas nuncium tuum majorem bajulum, nec permittas eum elongari a tuo conspectu, quoniam hoc est destruccio tui regni.<sup>1</sup> Qualitates ergo nunciorum tuorum, laudes et im- 10 properia eorum denunciavi tibi et ordinaciones eorundem, et qualiter cognoscuntur in infidelitate et bona fide. Quando ergo nuncius non invenitur talis, set hanelat donis et retribucionibus, et prodit te de hiis que injuncta sunt ei, et inventus fuerit diminutus in regimine tuo, non impono tibi 15 mensuram pene sibi injungende<sup>2</sup> vel infligende.

Do not send  
great nobles on  
embassies.

Degradate  
covetous am-  
bassadors.

**H** 112 b. *Capitulum .17. de regimine | sive gubernacione subditorum.  
sive de subditis regendis et defendendis, et de prepositis super  
eos constitwendis, sive de prudencia regis circa subditos.<sup>3</sup>*

Subjects are the  
wealth of the  
realm.

They are like an  
orchard.

**J** Am novisti quod subditi sunt pecunie domus tue, id est. 20 thesaurus tuus, quibus confirmatur tuum regnum. Equi- para, ergo, subditos tuos viridario in quo sunt genera diversa arborum fructiferarum, et non habeas eos sicut gramina nascencia que reddunt absinthium et tribulos et nichil generant fructuosum, quoniam arbores habent in se multos 25

<sup>1</sup> quia absencia talis persone infert dampna regno et posset eciam mala componere pacta cum hiis ad quos ivit.

<sup>2</sup> set ultra omnem modum puni eum.

<sup>3</sup> Documentum illud sive istius capituli stat in hoc quod rex per bajulos et alios ministros ordinet regnum suum sicut antiquitus 30 ordinate sunt civitates et regna, ut, scilicet, nullus in regno sit ociosus set occupatus, et quod nullus sit inutilis, set utiliter vacet officiis et operibus, vel militaribus vel agricultura vel mechanicis operibus vel mercacionibus vel judiciis et conservacionibus juris et pacis, et artes male excludantur et ociosi et latrones et hujusmodi. 35

palmites et ramos et truncos erectos, quedam habent<sup>1</sup> fructum et semen utile ad multiplicacionem sui generis cum bene coluntur et reguntur. Juxta potestatem tui thesauri est durabilitas et defensio tui regni et tue potencie.

Oportet ergo ut bene regantur subditi et quod intendas corum necessitatibus et quod removeas injurias ab eisdem, et quod nunquam tedeat te superintendere eorum condicionibus, et inquirere de hiis quibus indigent. Habeas ergo unum solum prepositum a te constitutum | qui non intendat ad 113 a. destruccionem arborum set ad conservacionem, qui prepositus bene sit dispositus, morigeratus, longanimis, sapiens, paciens. Qui si non est talis corda subditorum rebellant ejus regimini et corrumpentur per ipsum cogitationes que erant pure.

Noli multiplicare dispensatores in expensis tuis faciendis quia per hoc ingredietur corrupcio super te. Quia quilibet eorum intendit superare comparem suum in corrupcione<sup>2</sup> sui corporis, et conabitur se ostendere fidelem et utilem tibi in tuorum oppressionibus subditorum, et hoc facit quilibet bajulorum ut in officio ad quod fuit deputatus diuicius perseveret. Et multi tales sunt qui unum dicunt et aliud faciunt, et multos corrumpunt ut eos manuteneant et defendant.

*Capitulum .18. de proceribus et ordine sive ordinacione  
corum pro bello, sive de disposicione et numero procerum seu  
. militum in regimine regni et in tempore belli, sive de  
disposicione ductoris sui et de accione bellatorum ipsorum  
inferiorum.*

**P**roceres sunt addicio et multiplicacio regni, et per ipsos honoratur curia et ordinatur regnum in gradibus suis. Optima ergo ordinacio est necessaria in eorum gradibus et dispositionibus, ut non lateat te propinqui condicio et remoti

<sup>1</sup> et ita debet fieri in subditis regni.

<sup>2</sup> aliter, in correpcione sui comparis (vel operis).

113 b. de numero ipsorum. Hec est necessaria ordinacio | in propositura et numero qui dicitur et refertur ad numerum<sup>1</sup> sub numero. Dico ergo ordinacionem quadruplicem necessariam esse, quoniam quilibet locus in terra est quadruplex in ejus diferencia, scilicet, retro et ante, dextra et sinistra, et sic sunt species mundi similiter quatuor, oriens occidens meridies et septentrio. Sit igitur cuilibet preceptorum<sup>2</sup> quarta pars regni in ejus regimine, et si vis plures, sint decem, quoniam decem et quatuor sunt perfecta; quoniam in denario est unum et duo et tres et quatuor, si ergo colligeris hec, faciunt decem. Decennarius numerus est perfeccio eorum que complectuntur quaternarium et circumdabunt in numeris.

Have them in  
a fourfold ordi-  
nance,

like space or the  
earth;

or, if not four,  
ten.

Ten is a perfect  
number.

Let each chief  
have ten subordi-  
nates.

How to summon  
an army of ten  
thousand.

114 a.

How to summon  
one thousand,

or a hundred,

or ten.

By this means  
your expense  
will be lessened.

Sequantur ergo quemlibet preceptorem .x. vicarii, et sequantur quemlibet vicarium ductores .x., et quemlibet ductorem .x. decani, et sequantur quemlibet decanum .x. homines, omnes<sup>3</sup> ergo homines sunt<sup>4</sup> in universo centum milia pugnatorum. Quando ergo indiges servicio .x. milium virorum, convocari precipies ad expedicionem faciendam preceptorem unum, et sequantur ipsum .x. vicarii, et venient cum quolibet vicario .x. ductores, et cum quolibet ductore .x. decani, | qui sunt mille, et venient cum quolibet decano .x. homines pugnatores, faciunt ergo in summa .x. milia pugnatores. Et si indigeas mille bellatoribus, precipies uni vicariorum et venient cum eo .x. ductores, et cum quolibet ductore .x. decani, et cum quilibet decano .x. pugnatores, sunt ergo in summa mille bellatores. Et si indigeas centum bellatoribus, precipies uni ductorum ut cum eo veniant .x. decani, et cum quilibet decano .x. pugnatores, qui omnes faciunt centum. Et si indigeas .x. bellatoribus vel prelia- toribus precipies uni decano et venient cum eo .x. bellatores.

In hoc ergo parceret tibi in expensis et victualibus, et alleviaberis et consequeris quod desideras in proposito tuo,

<sup>1</sup> sicut postea exponit, ut decem homines sub uno decano etc. 35

<sup>2</sup> id est, eorum qui precipiunt.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, in istis numeris.

<sup>4</sup> apti ad bellum.

et diminuetur labor tuus in proceribus tuis, quoniam quilibet eorum reget .x. inferiores se in gradu suo, et sic alleviabitur opus in eis: et preceptor tuus immediatus<sup>1</sup> sit callidus et prudens disponen

5 *De scriba bono dando proceribus.*

Et necessarium est proceribus habere scribam sapientem sagacem fidelem considerantem approbatum in milicia, ne valeant proceres corrumpi denariis. Inquiras igitur diligenter cogitationes eorum, et quando percipies aliquid tale 10 vel aliquem talem, remove eum, et collige eos ostendens eis quod in remocione sua providisti eis. Oportet ergo te esse tractabilem curialem non contemptorem quorundam propter alios.

Give them a  
good secretary.  
114 b.  
Get rid of  
traitors.

15 *De instrumento bellico exercitum coadunante et de forma ejusdem instrumenti.*

Et oportet te tecum habere illud instrumentum quod fecit Temistius ad opus exercitus ad nocendum, et est instrumentum terribile quod dividitur multis modis,<sup>2</sup> quia forte oportebit te vocare totam provinciam tuam et regnum tuum, 20 et congregare subito proceres tuos bellatores tuos in eadem die vel cicius, vel aliquo modo prout indiget exercitus magnus et numerosus, nam hujus instrumenti sonus auditur per miliaria sexaginta. Hoc est cornu eneum artificio mirabili fabricatum, quo ex .lx. miliariis tempore 25 belli suum exercitum convocabat, et regebatur cornu sexaginta hominibus propter sui magnitudinem et inestimabilem artificium, et verisimile est quod multa metallorum resonantium genera in ejus compositione concurrebant, et hec est forma cornu.

The horn of  
battle of Temi-  
stius:

it will summon  
your men for 60  
miles round.

30 <sup>1</sup> tibi, scilicet, qui est primus et similiter omnes alii, vel immediatus cuilibet gradui.

<sup>2</sup> bene dico oportet te habere illud instrumentum.

K

*Capitulum .19. de rege in bello, et de aliis que debent attendi in bello, scilicet, de modo | in bellis tenendo, sive de regimine bellatorum et forma aggrediebunt bellum et provocacionibus corundem.*

Do not risk your self in battle.

**N**oli frequentare bella et exponere te et animam tuam 5  
eis; frequenta tamen consilia majorum qui sunt intima  
vicaria tua, et non occupes te in hiis in quibus occupantur  
(vel utuntur) victi vel vituperati congressionibus bellorum.  
Non temptabis neque frequentabis prelia in propria persona,  
set teneas majores circa te, ne occuperis (vel vaces) circa ea 10  
quibus detinentur presumptuosi et audaces in congrega-  
tionibus (vel in congressionibus), quia certissimum est quod  
nunquam convenit (vel contendit) rex cum rege quin  
alter illorum machinatus sit in destruccione alterius, et hoc  
inventum est in natura.<sup>1</sup>

Scias ergo quod victoria est ex corpore et anima con-  
surgens (vel proveniens) ex duobus oppositis<sup>2</sup> repugnantibus.  
Est ergo spiritus eorum spes et fiducia victorie regis  
utriusque,<sup>3</sup> quorum corpus est conjuncio utriusque partis.  
Quando ergo non incidit spes victorie, de seipsis moriuntur<sup>4</sup> 20  
et cessant prelia. Et | perdurat prelium quamdiu durat  
perseverancia in spe superandi partem quamlibet utriusque.  
Sit ergo conatus tuus et intencio tua in durabilitate, in  
perseverancia tui, et in stabilitate et sustentacione illorum  
qui sunt tui generis. Et noli vilipendere personas eorum 25  
quasi contemptor, set collige verba corum (seu recipe

<sup>1</sup> Scilicet, in regibus apum, quia reges apium exeunt cum  
examinibus suis sive exercitibus in pugnam et fortissime pugnant  
donec unus exercitus vincatur, et ita est in multis aliis animalibus.

<sup>2</sup> id est, regibus vel ducibus contrariis duorum exercituum. 30  
Wlt dicere quod victoria fit ex duobus; unum est spes et fiducia  
superandi adversarium, et hoc vocat animam metaphorice, aliud  
est conjuncio exercituum corporalis, et hoc vocat corpus.

<sup>3</sup> ex utrolibet.

<sup>4</sup> id est, non fiunt.

<sup>1</sup> Book IX, Chapter cxi. *V.*

<sup>16</sup> *victoria*] *invidia* *V*

The hope of victory sustains war.

Keep up the spirits of your men.

Example of bees.

familiariter) promitte eis donaria et honores, et solve pro-missa.

Scias eciam quod non oportet te in excercitu incidere nisi togatum vel loricatum, ita quod si subito inveniaris sub inimico querente te. Sit tota sollicitudo tua vel prudencia in premunitione tui ipsius, scilicet, in armis et custodibus et exploratoribus. Et necessaria est vigilancia in quolibet tempore noctis et diei. Et noli castrametiri nisi in loco vicino monti vel coniuncto ei vel juxta aquis. Et deser virtualia tecum multa quamvis non indigeas totidem. Et multiplica machinas discurrentes, et voces horribiles, quoniam hec sunt fortitudo et virtus eorum qui tecum sunt et durabilitas ad<sup>1</sup> eorum | propositum, et timor ac divisio inimicis. 116 a. Et utere in tuis proceribus diversis generibus armorum : quidam tantum utantur missilibus et sagittis <quidam in acie et in turba, alii vero deputati> ad discurrendum. Et quando venerit acies ad preliandum, mitte cum eis formam speciosissimam et turres ligneas in quibus sint armati sagittarii mittentes missilia ardencia. Et si videris eos trepidos vel deficientes, confirma corda eorum et inducas ad perseveranciam.

Item, ordina acies tuas sicut premisimus et ut sequetur. Constitue ergo ad dexteram genus percuciencium et agredientium, ad sinistrum vero genus lanceatorum, et in corde seu in medio genus mittencium faces ardentes et jacencium seu sagittancium et sonancium voces horribiles et faciencium motus diversos. Et sit semper supereminens locus ubi cum adversariis preliaberis: ipsi vero quando percipient hoc instabunt, et cum instancia conabuntur.

Cave ergo tunc prodicionem, et precipue tunc cum tuos videris vacillantes. Et ad illam partem quam videris | in 116 b. adversariis vacillantem, versus illam dirige acies atque bellum, et cum omnibus hiis perseveranciam frequenta, quia hoc est de originalibus victorie. Unde dicitur quod victoria non provenit de aliquibus, nisi prius vincantur pusillanimitate cordium in semetipsis, et per ingressiōnem

<sup>1</sup> aliter, ac.

Be always armed,

and on the watch.

Camp near water.

Frighten your enemies.

Use all kinds of arms.

The order of battle.

Take the higher ground.

Watch for treason.  
None are conquered before they are afraid.

affectus<sup>1</sup> super eos. Insuper multiplica insidias et constitue insidiatores cum sonis terribilibus, quia sunt de numero superancium et vincencium.

*Et est quedam cautela perducens ad propositum unum ex fundamentis preliorum, et habeas loca determinata parata in aliquo locorum exercitus ad succurendum in potibus et aliis necessariis, et ad conservandum proceres tuos. Multiplica eciam animalia portancia municiones et castra pugnacia, utpote elephantes, quia sunt valde terribiles, et animalia velocissima utpote dromedarios, in quibus est spes fuge in necessitate et quasi castrum.*

*Si vero debes pugnare in castella<sup>2</sup>, utere instrumentis prouidentibus lapides, utpote machinis, et multiplica ea juxta modum instantis necessitatis | ad hoc ; et eciam utere instrumentis penetrantibus et jac*(i)*entibus sagittas, et pila habeas venenata. Et si venire poteris ad fontem vel locum unde inimici hauriunt aquas potabiles, infunde in illis locis diversa venena corrumpencia et tunc inimicis effodias sepulturas.*

*Observa in omnibus perseveranciam, quia res est valde commendabilis et res faciens ad propositum. Et nunquam sequaris fugientem. Et noli festinare in tuis operibus. Et si possibile est tibi, sint universa opera tua prodiciones inimicis et circumvenciones. Observa ergo hoc, et ita facies quod bellum sit ultimum opus tuum, quia progenies Indorum et genus Indie sunt homines proditores et circumventores, et non est eis hoc obprobrium. Perses vero et Turci et Parthi unus populus est, quia Parthos constat Getas fuisse, quorum Amazones fuerunt uxores ; sunt homines animosi valde et presumptionis magne. Pugna ergo cum qualibet ex hiis eo modo quo convenit ad opus tuum. Minimum non facias esse magnum, et non prevenias postponendis.<sup>3</sup> | Et sint opera tua in manifesto et occulto juxta modum*

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, timoris et desperationis.

<sup>2</sup> vel, in castellatos.

<sup>3</sup> preponendum.

Have plenty of food and drink in reserve.

Elephants and dromedaries.

Artillery

117 a. and poisoned darts.

Poison the wells.

Persevere.

Do not pursue the fugitives Always try to find traitors among your enemies,

especially Indians.

Persians, Turks, and Parthians are different.

Change your methods for each enemy,

117 b.

premissum, et juxta historiam et qualitates seu disposiciones sciencie astrorum, sicut docui prius.<sup>1</sup>

and by counsel  
of the stars.

*Capitulum .20. de eleccione temporis pro bellis agredientibus.*

L

**Q**UANDO ergo vis consequi firmitatem propositi ex dispositione supracelestium, constitue ascendentem<sup>2</sup> seu orientem in Leone, et tempera<sup>3</sup> Lunam vel dominacionem ejus quod sit in bono loco ex ascendentे, et statue dominum ascendentis<sup>4</sup> in domibus Martis, et non omittas visionem Martis sive triplicitate.<sup>5</sup> Et considera tunc omnem operationem cuius naturam et materiam vis habere ex planetis et

To ensure success Leo must be in the ascendant, and the Moon in good aspect with Mars.

118 a.

<sup>1</sup> Nota hic historiam Amazonum, quarum viri fuerunt de Scythia et Scythe, et hec regio est ultra Alemaniam ad aquilonem extensa longitudine ad fines orientis ultra flumen Tanaim quod currit inter Europam et Asiam Majorem. De Scythia ergo circa 15 flumen Tanaim venerunt gentes que nunc vocantur Gothii, et duces eorum fuerunt duo juvenes regii, et fraude magnatum fuerunt expulsi de regno. Qui colligentes magnam multitudinem juvenum pecierunt partes Asie et tandem Europe cum uxoribus suis et omnibus bonis, et oppresserunt multas gentes. Quibus 20 tamen tandem mortuis, uxores occiderunt omnes viros suos et arma capientes invaserunt vicinas gentes subjugantes eas. Et quia noluerunt habere viros de suis, pecierunt certo anni tempore concubitus a vicinis gentibus subjugatis, et omnes filios suos occiderunt, filias tantum reservantes, quarum mammas sinistras 25 abscederunt ab infancia, et ideo dicte sunt Amazones, id est, sine mamma. Et hoc fecerunt propter usum sagittandi. Que occupaverunt naciones multas per circiter mille annos usque tempus Alexandri Magni et Aristotilis et ultra.

<sup>2</sup> id est, quod Leo sit in ascendentе.

<sup>3</sup> aliter, reparare.

<sup>4</sup> scilicet, Solem, quia domus Solis est Leo.

<sup>5</sup> Triplicitas Martis habet tria signa, scilicet, Arietem et Leonem et Sagittarium, quia sunt signa calida, et est triplicitas una dignitatem planete, ut in principio libri expositum est. Item, domus

The triplicity of Mars.

35 uno modo vocatur duodecima pars celi incipiendo ab oriente, et sunt tres sub orizonte usque ad angulum terre, et tres ab eo usque ad occidens, et tunc tres super orizontem usque ad medium celi, et tunc tres usque ad orientem. Alio modo dicitur domus planete, et sic domus dicitur signum aliquod in celo, unde 40 domus Martis sunt due, scilicet, Aries et Scorpius, set Aries est

What is the house of a planet.

corum domibus, et ordina ipsos planetas et signa que sunt ex eadem natura, quoniam hoc est caput operis. Et sint omnia opera tua in manifesto et occulto juxta hunc modum, scilicet, juxta qualitates seu disposiciones scientie astrorum.

5

When you journey start in the ascendant of the place you are going to.

Take care the Moon is favourable.

118 b. and Mercury in mid-heavens.

The Moon must not be in quadrature or opposition to the Sun.

In war, let the Moon be in mid-heaven and Mercury favourable.

Quando ergo volueris iter arripere, ordina ascendentem ad iter et civitatem et locum in quem tendis, et decimum ad opus quod intendis, et insiste circa hoc. Et cave ne Luna sit pessima, id est, eclipsata vel malivola seu turbata, et ne sit directe sub radiis Solis, aut in sexto vel in duodecimo gradu, aut retrograda. Si ergo erit victoria in ascidente<sup>1</sup> seu prosperitas, demonstrabit bonum et prosperum eventum, et tunc, maxime si Mercurius est in medio celi, demonstrabit complementum operis et perfeccionem, et quando erit in septima domo demonstrabit possibilitatem operis et leticiam et prosperitatem et perfeccionem propositi, et si fuerit infra terram, significabit complementum negotii et (proprietatem seu) prosperitatem eventus. Et cave ne fuerit Luna in ingressu itineris, in quadratura Solis, aut in ejus opposito. Si ergo invenias orientem seu ascendentem in ejus opposito, vel in quadratura Solis, revertere velociter illesus et perficietur opus. Et si vis aggredi bellum, ordina domum Lune medium celi,<sup>2</sup> et Mercurium respicientem ipsam benivolo vultu<sup>3</sup>, et fac Mercurium in quarto gradu, repera Lunam maxime, quia in itineribus faciendis universis majus est signum.

principalis. Et signum dicitur domus, quia ibi dominatur planeta et habet maximam virtutem in eo et fortitudinem, set et domus Solis est Leo et Lune Cancer. Set et hec uberior exposita sunt in principio.

<sup>1</sup> in bona disposizione celesti.

<sup>2</sup> id est, decimam domum.

<sup>3</sup> id est, aspectu.

30

26 End of Book IX. V.

<sup>7</sup> post decimum legem ad iter et septimum domum ad

<sup>8</sup> post intendis legem et angulus terre ad eventum: insiste

<sup>11.</sup> legem gradu, ne sit Mercurius sub radiis Solis aut retrograda

*Capitulum .21. de conveniencia supraclestium cum inferioribus, scilicet, qualiter superiora dominantur inferioribus ad fortunandum regem et pacificandum regiones ut sibi obediant gratis sine coaccione, et est capitulum incantacionis philosophice, sive de ydeis et formis.*

**O** Alexander, jam scivisti illud quod antea sentencia tractavi et exposui tibi non semel, quod, videlicet, substancia hujus mundi universo in ejus superioritate, posterioritate et inferioritate, sive altitudine, anterioritate et profunditate una est, nullam habens differentiam secundum substanciam, quia ejus | differentia solummodo est in accidentibus, et ejus existencia est in forma et coloribus. Si igitur nulla res differt in seipsa, consequens est ut ejus differentia sit ab alia. Quicquid igitur videmus in hoc mundo corruptibili de naturis, que primo dividuntur in quatuor partes, sunt .4. elementa. Deinde quicquid generatur ex hiis de originalibus, id est mineris vel mineralibus, vegetabilibus et animalibus, ejus causa est ex mundo circumdante ipsum universum, partem scilicet corporalem et partem supercelestem et spiritualem: hec est causa ejus existentie et regens ipsum.

Apparet igitur quod omnes forme inferiores regantur a formis supracestibus spericis spiritualibus, et hec est causa conveniens operibus incantamentorum, id est, ymaginum. Et iste forme sperice sunt firme in gradibus firmamenti. Et septem sunt vie ille regentes superiores que recipiunt impressiones earum<sup>1</sup> in suis luminibus, sicut recipit visus et mulier pregnans ydeas et similitudines rerum et earum formas, et producunt eas ad mundum in-

The substance of  
this world is one  
in substance,

119 a.  
though different  
in accidents.

Everything mu-  
table in nature  
can be divided  
into the four  
elements.

30      <sup>1</sup> eorum.

11 accidentibus] actionibus MS.  
speculum politum.

28 mulier pregnans] Arabic.

The things of  
this world re-  
ceive impressions  
from without  
according to  
their suscepti-  
bility.

<sup>1</sup> This section is omitted in the ordinary versions. A better title is supplied by the first corrector of this MS. and in some other MSS. ‘Rubrica’. Diccio decima de scientiis incantamentorum et de secretis astrorum, et de inclinacione animorum et de proprietatibus lapidum et herbarum.’

feriorem, juxta possibilitatem informantis et imprimentis eas (seu componentis). Recipiet ergo quilibet res de originalibus et vegetabilibus et animalibus ab illis secundum quod in natura sua potens est recipere.

Et scias quod recepcio cujuslibet supracelestium in illis 5  
 119 b. formis accidit<sup>1</sup> juxta | suam possibilitatem in recipiendo ipsam, et similiter quicquid formatur in inferioribus ex impressionibus superiorum (vel superioribus formis). Forcius igitur ydolum incantamentorum et durabilius judicatur quod insidiatur a Queynuan sene et a patre sene; 10 deinde cum illo qui inclinat se ad sapienciam et ad judicium justicie, qui est magnus apparens in libertate; deinde qui sequitur ipsa<sup>2</sup> ad (pudendum sive) puteum flavum, velocem (sive velociter) in motu, principem miraculorum<sup>3</sup> multorum, qui est multe benedictionis. Et convenit similiter quod 15 consideracio sit in tempore suo, et non casset continuare<sup>4</sup> lumen planetarum et infusionem radiorum suorum, et non sit Luna reproba in eo quod vis bonum esse; et e contra sit cum vis corrumpere (sive corpore erumpere). Et ego ponam tibi exempla in hiis, quibus multum indigebis, et ostendam 20 tibi (faciem vel) finem operis in hoc, Domino concedente.

*Capitulum .22. de apprehensione intellectus, sive de impressione formarum.*

The mind must be quick of apprehension.  
 Persons of little understanding cannot penetrate these secrets.

120 a. **Q**UONIAM illi qui fuerunt velocis apprehensionis, et intellectus eorum fuerunt clarificati ad suscipiendam 25 scienciam, investigaverunt illud quod manifestum est de eo quod occultum fuit | eis, et illud cujus sciencia verificata est apud eos confirmaverunt. Et secundum modum, postquam cognoverunt et investigaverunt utilitatem suam et durabilitatem et perpetuitatem, quam celaverunt et occultaverunt ut 30 non associarentur eis in eorum sciencia illi qui non habent

<sup>1</sup> vel, accipit.      <sup>2</sup> vel, ipsum.      <sup>3</sup> aliter, periculorum.

<sup>4</sup> et est necesse continuare.

17-18 'et non sit Luna' in marg. 'Luna' later hand      25 added in later hand: 'et est ars universalis ad aggrediendum omnia opera secreta'

apprehensionem quam illi apprechenderunt, nec scienciam quam illi sciverunt, ut sunt divisiones Altissimi, cuius potencia et dona sunt glorificata in suis creaturis currentibus secundum suam dispositionem et voluntatem et secundum suam sapientiam super illos quos voluerit et approba-  
verit. Et non elongabit te Deus glorus ab illis qui habuerunt hanc scienciam, cum tu sis de numero eorum qui desiderant aliquid adquirere, et qui appetit victoriam habere, aut secundum intencionem suam ad id quod appetit, aut secundum humilitatem rerum appetitarum ad ipsum.

God will reveal them to you.

Quot igitur sunt in hoc mundo de secretis occultis et de scienciis occultis universalibus et particularibus, que per-  
transeunt homines et non cognoscuntur nec intendunt circa ipsas, et hoc ideo, quia eorum intencio et desideria tendunt ad alia, et alienum est ab eis quod appetunt. Et jam ostendi tibi quicquid vides in hoc mundo sensibus tuis est 120 b.  
patens ex duobus, scilicet, ex materia et forma. Omnis igitur forma durabilis est et perpetua in ipso ente (sive operante) sine augmentacione et diminucione.<sup>1</sup> Et omnis materia que est est in<sup>2</sup> generacione, non existit in aliquo tempore<sup>3</sup> ex temporibus, nec vides nisi formam animalium et vegetabilium et mineralium perdurantem in etate,<sup>4</sup> nec suscipit in se corrupcionem vel defectum, augmentum vel diminucionem, quia abest et recedit per corrupcionem cor-  
poris et materie deferentis ipsam, quod est compositum necessario ex compositione parcium que sunt divise cum motibus incessantibus in corpore quamdiu existit in aggregacione et segregacione, et informacio durabiliter perseverat.

Many do not know these secrets

because they are thinking of other things.

Matter and form.

All form is perpetual.

Only form is apprehended by the senses.

Form recedes when change takes place.

Form is due to the planets,

its change to their interactions.

<sup>1</sup> aliter, secundum augmentacionem et diminucionem.

<sup>2</sup> ex.

<sup>3</sup> aliter, Et omnis natura in generatione consistit ex aliquo tempore. <sup>4</sup> aliter, in ente.

contrariis qui non perseverant secundum unum modum. Apparet igitur tibi quod predixi, quod forme celestes quando<sup>1</sup> suscipiunt a luminibus planetarum inter radiorum<sup>2</sup> inter ipsos celos et ipsa elementa, suscipiunt humores que<sup>3</sup>

121 a. habent | suscipere, et existit eorum durabilitas quamdiu<sup>4</sup>

Form which rules  
humours and  
complexions.

habet durare ille humor et motus formarum et potentie et opera earundem, juxta complexionem terrenam et complexionem celestem seu firmamenti. Et ille dominatur in operibus cuiuslibet forme qui dominatur in quolibet humore, et superat super complexionem, sicut placuit Creatori suo<sup>5</sup> altissimo glorioso et sublimi.

Convenit igitur tibi scire, quod dixi et demonstravi: virtutem (sive veritatem) ejus ut inde cognoscas motum firmamenti et signa ejus et planetas ejus fixos et durabiles; et quod ascendit ex qualibet parte signorum, et ex formis figuratis spiritualiter operantibus; et quod scias motum septem syderum et modum<sup>4</sup> inter illos; et quid significant hec omnia. Et quod scias motus septem circumstancium, in conjuncione et in opposicione et in recepcione et in triplicitate et quadratura et sextuplicitate, et signum ejus quod amat et signum est Ancheralh, et terminum invencionis, et quomodo accedit eorum pars, accio et impressio et recepcion (sive accepcio) luminis, et earum redicio (sive radacio), et ascendens secundum certitudinem | cum ipsa complexione, et secundum cursum, et secundum inclinacionem ad dexteram et ad sinistram, et quot denarios pertransivit Sol vel planeta in quolibet signo, cum mediazione et preparacione et infusione sui luminis secundum ultimam certitudinem et insinuationem<sup>5</sup>. Eti illud quod magis debet sciri est cognoscere horas ascendencium bonorum et reproborum, et quid habet quilibet in longitudine et latitudine et ascidente et apparente.

121 b. et ascendens secundum certitudinem | cum ipsa complexione, et secundum cursum, et secundum inclinacionem ad dexteram et ad sinistram, et quot denarios pertransivit Sol vel planeta in quolibet signo, cum mediazione et preparacione et infusione sui luminis secundum ultimam certitudinem et insinuationem<sup>5</sup>. Eti illud quod magis debet sciri est cognoscere horas ascendencium bonorum et reproborum, et quid habet quilibet in longitudine et latitudine et ascidente et apparente.

Cum ergo cognoveris omnia hec, cum hiis que prediximus

<sup>1</sup> aliter, ante.

<sup>2</sup> aliter, intermediorum.

<sup>3</sup> aliter, quoniam.

<sup>4</sup> vel, nodum.

<sup>5</sup> vel, insidiacionem.

To understand  
you must know  
the motions of  
the heavens

and their inter-  
relations,

and especially  
the times of the  
ascendents, and  
the places.

tibi de essencia sive substancia lapidum, et quid recipit quodlibet istorum a quolibet planeta, et quid quilibet planeta in ipsis habet, et si quilibet planeta habeat participationem quarumlibet ymaginum lapidearum, et quid recipit quilibet istorum in participacione in qualibet ymagine lapidearum et vegetabilium et originalium, et in quolibet membro ex membris suis, necesse est quod agregacio et universitas attribuatur et pertineat magis dominanti super eas. Sicut homo qui pertinet ad Solem in universo secundum as man,  
 10 majoritatem et pluralitatem | est distincio (sive diffinicio) 122 a.  
 pertinens ad Solem. Et similiter originale attribuitur Homini (seu comparatur) universo et plumbum nigrum ad Saturnum or black lead,  
 secundum divisionem. Deinde similiter quilibet ymago et quodlibet (signum vel) membrum in membris existentibus  
 15 in ipsa, quoniam omne compositum secundum quod committitur crescit (vel secundum quod metitur cernitur et circuitur). or any member of the body.

Cum ergo volueris ligacionem planetarum, volve cum adjutorio Altissimi simplicissimi ligacionem illarum potenciarum (seu virtutum) supracelestium sensibilium que operantur in istis corporibus compositis. Tu autem jam novisti quid habet quilibet planeta ex illis in universo et individuis et compositis corporibus in universo et divisione. Considera ergo disposiciones firmamenti in quolibet signo To make use of the planets, consider the supr-celestial influences at work on your object.  
 25 ascidente de suis ascendentibus, et secundum quod durat dispositione ejus et sui ascendentis super ipsum usque ad perfectionem cujuslibet modi ex modis, scilicet, quis ascendens sit deterior et ymagines ascendentis ex illa parte gradientes spirituales, et compara ad ipsum operationem  
 30 ex generacione | humana vel ceterorum animalium aut vegetabilium et lapidum, ita ut sit magister ascendentis in eo. Ita quod Saturnus in opere suo et aspectu suo ad ipsum respiciat benigne, et quod sit infusio radiorum suorum super illa plaga (seu regione) in qua tu existis. Et non transgrediaris locum operationis (sive applicacionis) tue, et let Saturn be benignant

10 post pluralitate lege caput ejus. 12 Saturnum] Solem MS. 23 in dividuis] divinis MS. 24 Considera. The Achillini text ends here and goes on with p. 114.

and the Moon adjacent,

and make a scheme of the heavens.

The amulet of Hermogenes,

which brings power and repels enemies,

I will describe to you.

Take all metals, in their hours;

let Leo be in the ascendant and Sol in a good sign, the Moon in Cancer.

sit Luna contigua cum duobus planetis, et capiat in ea receptionem que requiritur ad illam. Et pingue illam figuram ascendentem in firmamento in corpore ex corporibus convenientibus magistro ascendentis, secundum quod appetet ex figura ascendentis, littere cum littera. Quod tu 5 videbis ex operacione (seu apparitione) operum suorum et virtutum, quia multum perficiet tibi, si Deo placuerit.

*Capitulum .23. de ymaginibus et anulis seu incantamentis faciendis.*

**I** Sta ymago seu incantamentum est operacio Hermogenis 10 regis sapientissimi, et est medicamentum quod dat regnum et reverenciam et congregat inclinacionem et obedienciam, et repellit inimiciciam cum timore et tremore; 15 123 a affligit invidos, rigidos et inimicos; et facit | amare et odire, et ridere et flere, ire et redire, et operatur opera mirabilia magna et extranea et stupefacienza que longum esset enarrare, et habet indagacionem visionum in entibus<sup>1</sup> per viam revelationis magnam efficaciam.

**E**t ego ostendam tibi hujusmodi rei artem secundum quod gloriosi philosophi mihi commiserunt scienciam eam, 20 quam qui possiderunt occultaverunt ejus rei scienciam in secretis terre, qui habuerunt revelationem et prophetaverunt in ipsam et prosperati fuerunt, et anime eorum separaverunt hanc scienciam separatim ab omnibus aliis, et (potencia sive) persona tua preparata est huic secreto semper. Prosperare 25 ergo in ipso et eris securus, cum Dei adjutorio.

Congrega substanciam Saturni et Jovis Mercurii et Solis et Veneris et Martis et Lune, et victoriam ejus qui dominatur in eis, et est tunc racio - sicut magister omnium, et pone de ipso auro secundum quantitatem (sive qualitatem) que est 30 in operacione. Et ascendens sit Leo, et Sol sit in signo competenti potens et ascendens et illuminans in .19. gradu, et Homo<sup>2</sup> in Aquario, et prepara Lunam et ymaginem

<sup>1</sup> vel, mentis.      <sup>2</sup> vel, Homo (Saturn).      <sup>3</sup> aliter, hoc est.

<sup>27</sup> in marg. 'Operacio specialis'.      <sup>31</sup> in marg. 'ut in Capricorno'.

(sive magistrum) ejus ut sit in Cancro,<sup>1</sup> et in 1 tercio gradu 123 b. ipsius, et Jupiter in Sagittario et Mercurius in Virgine et Venus in Tauro et Mars in Virgine et ipsa prosperata in decimo, et Mercurius in Virgine in honore suo. Et quod magis placet ei, ut adjungatur Luna Soli et Jovi in locis respicientibus (vel recipientibus). Si possibile est tibi, ut sit inclinacio ad Jovem, et illuminacio ad Hominem, et respiciant se ad invicem benigno aspectu, et quilibet eorum emittat radium suum super consortem suum post receptionem 10 luminis sui. Et cavendum est ne dominus medii celi sit remissus et relaxans cordas, et situs planetarum edificancium sit in gradibus sui ascensus.

Et cum hoc habueris, collige substancias per dissolutionem in mane diei Jovis in hora attributa Jovi. Deinde 15 facias ex hoc anulum, et pone in eo particulam quadratam de lapide luteo precioso. Et depinge in eo formam leonis, super quem leonem equitet forma (sive ymago) inberbis hominis, et habeat in manu sua, duas alas involutas in capite suo, et inter manus suas septem homines inberbes<sup>2</sup> habentes 20 alas et inclinantes ad ipsum inter manus suas. Deinde depone septem lectos de substancia cujuslibet.<sup>3</sup> Deinde suppone eos sub lapide precioso predicto per ordinem secundum quod sunt. Primus eorum sit Saturnus, deinde qui sequitur usque ad Lunam, post quam depinxeris in 25 qualibet superficie nomen sui planete et illud quod attrahit sua spiritualitas.

Jupiter.  
Mercury.  
Venus.

Melt them on  
Thursday in the  
hour of Jove;

make a ring with  
a square stone;  
carve on it a  
young man  
riding on a lion,  
holding a two-  
winged hat

124 a.

and seven  
winged figures  
between his  
hands;  
make seven  
settings of  
each metal  
under the stone,

with the name of  
the planet on  
each.

*Explicit pars tercia Secretorum Aristotilis de mirabilibus utilitatibus nature et artis et morum. Et incipit pars quarta ejusdem de admirabili 30 eleccione amicorum et bajulorum regis per naturales proprietates corporum et hec vocatur phisonomia.*

<sup>1</sup> aliter, Tauro (*recte*).

<sup>2</sup> alia litera .7. homines barbas habentes et alas.

<sup>3</sup> scilicet, planete.

11 in marg. 'id est, debilis per motum vel per aspectum'. 18 *lege* in manu sua vexillum, habens. 19 inter manus suas] *lege* et ante eum.

*Incipit pars quarta Secretorum in qua docet phisonomia humani corporis, id est, de arte cognoscendi qualitates hominum secundum partes exteriores et de quibusdam aliis.*

v

*Capitulum primum est de phisonomia in universalis.*

5

Learn to judge  
men by their out-  
ward seemings.

124 b.

The soul governs  
the body,

yet it is in-  
fluenced by  
the stars.

Learn the science  
of physiognomy.

**E**T inter ceteras res illa quam te non oportet ignorare est cognitio quam investigat et cognoscat anima tua per signum nobile cum abstracta fuerit a desideriis | et concupiscentiis, et cum fuerit liberata a nocivis, et hec divisio cognoscitur cogitatu. Cum itaque fuerit anima superans corpus et dominans et ei preponderans, et virtus flammea<sup>1,2</sup> existens in corde non desinat inter ipsam virtutem vitalem et virtutem animalem existentem in cerebro,<sup>3</sup> tunc sublimatur et augmentatur et declaratur intellectus secundum mensuram. Unde si quis querat causam propheta- rum qui probati sunt in hoc mundo purissimi intellectus et vere visionis cum miraculis juvatibus pre ceteris, ex predictis provenit.<sup>4</sup> Accidit et hoc, ex constellacione geneseos imitantis hanc virtutem generativam.

Scias ergo quod oportet te querere signa et vestigia cum pulcritudine nature, scilicet, sciencie phisonomie que est sciencia magna, et per longitudinem dierum sunt usi antiqui hac sciencia et gloriati sunt in inquisitione pulcritudinis 125 a. nature in hac sciencia | cuius perfeccio attribuitur de numero

<sup>1</sup> id est, calor naturalis.

<sup>2</sup> *Virtus flammea etc.* Tres sunt virtutes in homine, scilicet, naturalis que facit opera nutrimenti, augmentandi et generandi, et hec viget in epate et testibus. Alia dicitur vitalis, que salvat vitam per inspirationem et exspirationem et anelitum et motum cordis, et hec est in corde principaliter. Tercia dicitur animalis 30 et cognitiva et hec est in cerebro, quarum trium calor naturalis est instrumentum.

<sup>3</sup> ita, scilicet, quod hec tria sint in debita disposicione.

<sup>4</sup> scilicet, ex bona disposicione virtutum vitalis et animalis et caloris naturalis.

antiquorum Philimoni summo doctori et magistro phisonomie, et revera investigabat ex compositione hominis qualitates et naturas anime ejus, et sunt in ipsa historia<sup>1</sup> pulcra et extranea. Constitue ergo te super eam ut intelligas.

Polemon was a master of this science.

Discipuli siquidem Ypocratis sapientis depinxerunt formam ejus in pergamenio et portaverunt eam Philimoni dicentes: Considera hanc figuram et indica nobis qualitates complexionis ejus. Qui recipiens compositionem et dispositionem figure comparavit partes ejus dicens: Iste homo luxuriosus est, deceptor, amans coitum. Ob quam rem voluerunt eum interficere dicentes: O stulte, hec est figura dignioris et melioris hominis qui sit in hoc mundo. Philimon autem pacificavit eos et correxit dicens: Hec est figura quidem sapientis Ypocratis, set hec que quesivistis de mea scienza ostendi vobis, et quod inde sencio secundum ipsam.

The disciples of Hippocrates tried to prove him.

The picture of Hippocrates showed him to be a lecher.

The disciples wished to kill Polemon.

Quando ergo pervenerunt ad Ypocratem, dixerunt ei quid fecerunt et quid respondit eis Philimon et ejus judicium.

Hippocrates said he was right.

Quibus dixit | Ypocras: Certe verum dixit Philimon, nec 125 b.

20 pretermisit unam litteram. Verumptamen ex quo ego respexi, consideravi hec turpia esse et reprobanda, constitui meam animam regem supra ipsam,<sup>2</sup> et retraxi eam ab eis, et triumphavi super retencionem concupiscenzie mee. Hec est itaque laus et sapiencia Ypocratis ex ejus operibus, quia 25 philosophia nichil aliud est quam abstinentia et victoria concupiscibilium.<sup>3</sup>

except that he had conquered his own disposition.

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, phisonomie.

<sup>2</sup> scilicet, ut ipsa regeret se per viam racionis.

30 Phisonomia est lex nature in complexione humani corporis et ejus compositione, quia Grece, 'nomos' est 'lex', 'physis' est 'natura', et hic est magna pulcritudo sciencie et sapiencie et utilitas pro cavendo malos et associando bonos, quia homines libenter secuntur in moribus complexiones suas et compositiones corporum suorum, licet non cogantur. De ista phisonomia 35 Aristotiles et tres alii philosophi collegerunt multas sentencias que in unum collecte sunt in libro .3. auctorum qui communis est apud prudentes. Alius tractatus specialis est Aristotilis de novo translatus. Multa vero de hac sciencia reperiuntur in libris Aristotilis et Avicenne *de Animalibus*, et in libris medicine. Et cum hec

What is physiognomy.

The leading treatises.

*Capitulum secundum de phisonomia in particulari.*

**W**  
The rules of  
Physiognomy.

The signification  
of a light colour.

One must be  
careful in form-  
ing judgements  
of Christians,

but still the  
science will tell  
you the natural  
disposition.

126 a. Twin pupils are  
a very bad sign.

Kings who have  
to select prelates  
should know this  
science.

**C**Onstitue ergo tibi ex hac sciencia phisonomie regulas et constituciones abreviatas et sufficientes, et det tibi Deus magnum comodum et precium ex nobilitate nature tue et puritate tue substancie. 5

Scias ergo quod matrix est embrioni<sup>1</sup> sicut olla ferculo decoquendo. Albedo ergo cum livido colore et flavus color nimis, est signum diminute decocionis embrionis in matrice. Si ergo accidat cum hoc diminucio in creatura,

scienza sit plena sapientia naturalis philosophie, et utilissima pro moribus hominum cognoscendis, tamen multum debet esse prudens et expertus qui de his debet judicare, nec de Christianis debet aliquis judicare nisi aptitudinem naturalem ad mores, non quod talis erit, quia gratia Dei gratum faciens potest vincere malam dispositionem animi ad quam excitatur ex complexione et compositione corporis et ceteris proprietatibus, quia tamen omnes homines tam boni quam mali inclinantur omnino vel in majori parte vel in minori, et semper vel pluries vel aliquando, ad eos mores ad quos natura excitat voluntatem, ideo ultra aptitudinem potest sapiens considerare et saltem dubitare rationabiliter de eo qui habet naturam valde dispositam ad malos mores, et cavere ab eo, usquequo cognoverit ejus conversionem ad bonos mores. Aliqua enim sunt signa naturalia ita efficacia quod vix deficiunt aliqui ab illis moribus ad quos inclinantur, ut qui geminas pupillas habent in oculo uno, vix unquam cavent a sedicione et decepcione, ut probavi in omnibus quos adhuc vidi. Et multa alia signa reperiuntur in hoc libro, et in aliis libris hujus sciencie. Super omnes autem valet regibus et magnis viris ut essent periti in hac sciencia in eleccione amicorum et ministrorum, quia etsi boni primo eligantur ad curias regum et prelatorum cito depravantur per divicias et delicias et honores et munera. Propter quod Aristotiles voluit instruere Alexandrum in hac sciencia utilissima pro omnibus, et maxime pro magnatibus, ut possit cavere a malis et eligere bonos. Ex dictis Philimonis et responsione Ypocratis patet veritas judiciorum phisonomie, quia per hanc scienciam non potest judicare nisi de aptitudine ad mores, non de actuali existencia; debet tamen sapiens rationabiliter dubitare ubi violenta signa invenit, et cavere donec probet contrarium, sicut prius exposui.

<sup>1</sup> Marginal note in same hand: 'Embrio est fetus in utero et in matrice'.

diminuetur similiter natura. Fuge | ergo ab omni homine 126 b.  
livido flavo, quoniam declivus est ad vicia et luxuriam.

Et cum videris aliquem in te frequentantem visum, et Signs of a man  
that loves and  
fears you.  
cum respicis eum terretur ex hoc et eiubescit, et maxime  
5 si intus suspirat, et lacrime apparent in oculis: hic diligit  
te et timebit te. Si vero contrarium fuerit, est invidus et  
contempnens te.

Cave et precave ab homine infortunato et diminuto in Beware of un-  
fortunate or  
deformed men.  
aliquo membro, sicut cavendum est tibi ab inimico.

10 Equior et temperacior creatura est que convenit medio- The man of even  
temperament:  
critati stature cum nigredine oculorum et capillorum et  
cum rotunditate vultus. Albedo vero commixta rubedini  
est bona. Et fuscus color temperatus cum integritate  
corporis, et rectitudo stature ac capitis mediocritas in parvi-  
15 tate et magnitudine, et raritas verborum nisi cum necesse  
fuerit, mediocritas in sonoritate vocis et subtilitate. Quando  
vero natura declinat ad nigredinem et croceitatem, tunc est  
optima temperancia; creacio hec | placeat tibi, hanc habeas 127 a.  
tecum. Et ego interpretor tibi quoddam <sup>have him near</sup> you.  
20 separacionis,<sup>2</sup> tu autem temptabis ipsum in rectitudine  
intellectus.

### *Capitulum tertium de capillis.*

Capilli autem plurimi suaves significant mansuetudinem Much hair and  
soft.  
et frigiditatem cerebri. Multitudo eciam capillorum  
25 super utroque humero significat fatuitatem et stoliditatem.  
Multitudo eciam pilorum in pectore et ventre reperta Body hair.  
declarat horribilitatem et singularitatem nature, et diminu-  
cionem apprehensionis et amorem injuriarum, et sapiencie  
innuit paucitatem. Ruffus vero color capillorum et pilorum Red hair.  
30 est signum insipiecie et multe ire et insidiarum. Et niger Black hair.  
capillus innuit rectitudinem et amorem justicie. Mediocris  
vero inter duos colores est hominis qui diligit pacem.

<sup>1</sup> scilicet, capillos et postea alia.

<sup>2</sup> id est, divisionis in multa membra.

*Capitulum .4. de oculis celestis coloris et nigris.*

Great eyes.  
Medium sized  
eyes.

**Q**ui habet oculos magnos, invidus est et inverecundus piger, inobediens, precipue si sint lividi. Cum vero oculi sint mediocres declinantes ad celestem colorem vel nigredinem, penetrabilis | est intellectus, curialis et fidelis. 5 Goggle eyes. Cum vero habet oculos extensos cum extensione vultus, Asses' eyes. talis est maliciosus nequam. Et qui habet oculos similes Shifty eyes. oculis asini, insipiens est, dure nature. Cujus vero oculi Red eyes. moventur velociter et visus ejus acutus, talis homo est The worst eyes. fraudulentus, latro, infidelis. Si vero oculi fuerint rubei, 10 ille cuius sunt est animosus et fortis et potens. Deteriores vero oculi sunt illi qui habent maculas albas aut nigras aut rubeas circumquaque, quia talis homo deterior est omnibus hominibus, et magis reprobandus.

*Capitulum .5. de superciliis.*

15

Thick brows.

**S**upercilium quod habet multos pilos significat inepcio-  
nem loquendi. Et quando extenduntur supercilia ad tempora, habens talia est immundus. Cum vero supercilia rara sunt, commensurata in longitudine et brevitate et sunt magna, hujusmodi est facilis impressionis ad intelli- 20 gendum.

*Capitulum .6. de naso.*

Thin noses

128 a. Long noses.

Nostrils.

The best nose.

**N**asus cum fuerit subtilis, ejus dominus est valde ira-  
cundus. Et qui habet longum | nasum et protensum  
ad os, est probus et audax. Nasus vero simus, est impe- 25 tuosus. Et qui habet foramina nasi gravis apercionis vel  
dure, irascibilis est. Et similiter, qui habet ampla foramina  
iracundus est. Et cum fuerit nasus latus in medio declinans  
ad similitatem, est verbosus mendax. Et in nasis ille est  
magis equalis qui est mediocriter longus, et cujus. latitudo 30  
est mediocris ad extremitatem et ejus foramina non multum  
magna.

*Capitulum .7. de facie.*

**F**Acies plana carens tumorositate significat litigiosum, <sup>A full face.</sup> discolum, injuriosum, et immundum. Qui vero habet faciem mediocrem in genis et temporibus,<sup>1</sup> vergentem ad <sup>A good face.</sup> pinguedinem, est verax, amans, intelligens atque sapiens, servicialis<sup>2</sup> atque compositus et ingeniosus.

*Capitulum .8. de ore et labiis.*

**Q**Ui vero habet latum os, est bellicosus et audax, et est <sup>Big mouth.</sup> loquax et sepe gulosus. Qui habet labia grossa <sup>Full lips.</sup> stultus est. Et qui est carnosus in facie est minus sapiens, importunus mendax. Et qui habet gracilem faciem est <sup>128 b.</sup> circumspectus in operibus suis, subtilis intellectus. Et qui <sup>A lean face.</sup> habet parvam faciem declinantem ad croceitatem est pessimus, viciosus, deceptor, ebriosus. Et qui habet oblongam faciem est injuriosus.

Et qui habet tempora inflata et venas plenas est valde <sup>Full temples.</sup> iracundus.

*Capitulum .9. de auriculis.*

**E**t qui habet auriculas magnas est valde fatuus, hoc <sup>Great ears.</sup> excepto quod erit bone memorie et retencionis. Et <sup>Small ears.</sup> qui habet aures valde parvas est stolidus, luxuriosus.

*Capitulum .10. de voce.*

**E**t qui habet grossam vocem et sonoram est bellicosus <sup>A loud voice.</sup> et eloquens. Cujus vox est mediocris in subtilitate et grossicie est sapiens, providus et verax, justus.

*De modo loquendi capitulum.*

Qui vero est velox in verbis, et precipue si habet gracilem <sup>Hasty speakers</sup> vocem, est inprobus, stolidus, importunus et mendax. Si vero vox sua fuerit grossa, erit iracundus et precipitans,

<sup>30</sup> <sup>1</sup> psalmus, ‘et requiem temporibus’.

<sup>2</sup> id est, aptus ad serviendum.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter cxxi. *V*

<sup>22</sup> Chapter cxxiv. *V*

<sup>16</sup> Chapter cxxii. *V*

<sup>18</sup> Chapter cxxiii. *V*

<sup>4</sup> vergentem] vigentem MS.

<sup>16</sup> venas] genas MS.

A sweet voice. male nature. Et qui habet dulcem vocem invidus est et  
 129 a. suspiciosus. Pulcritudo eciam vocis | indicat stoliditatem  
 et insipiem et magnanimitatem.

Much gesture. Qui vero movetur frequenter et loquitur manuum motu  
 Little gesture. est invidus, eloquens et deceptor. Qui vero est abstinentia a 5  
 motu manuum est perfectus intellectus, bene dispositus et  
 sani consilii.

### *Capitulum .11. de collo.*

A long neck.

A short neck.

**Q**ui vero habet collum gracile et longum est sonorus in  
 voce et stolidus. Qui vero habet collum breve valde 10  
 est callidus, defraudator, astutus, et dolosus. Qui vero  
 habet collum grossum est stolidus et comestor magnus.

### *Capitulum .12. de ventre et pectore et tergo et humeris.*

The signs of the  
belly,  
and of the chest.

High shoulders.

**Q**ui vero habet ventrem magnum est indiscretus, stolidus, superbus, amans coitum. Mediocritas vero ventris 15  
 et strictura pectoris significat altitudinem intellectus et  
 boni consilii. Latitudo vero pectoris et grossies humerorum et tergi significat probitatem et audaciam cum  
 retencione intellectus et sapiencie. Subtilitas vero tergi  
 significat hominem discordantis nature. Mediocritas vero 20  
 pectoris et tergi equalitas, signum est optimum et approba-  
 129 b. tum. Elevacio humerorum signum est | asperitatis nature  
 et infidelitatis.

### *Capitulum .13. de brachiis.*

Long arms.

Short arms.

**Q**uando vero brachia protenduntur in tantum quod 25  
 manus pervenient ad genua, significat audaciam et  
 probitatem cum largitate. Quando vero decurtantur brachia  
 signum est amantis discordiam et ignorantis.

### *Capitulum .14. de palmis et digitis.*

Long palms and  
fingers.

**P**alme vero longe cum digitis longis significant dominum 30  
 suum bene dispositum ad multas artes, precipue cum  
 mechanicis, et significant sapientem in operibus, et signum

4 Chapter cxxv. *V*  
 24 Chapter cxxviii. *V*

8 Chapter cxxvi. *V*  
 29 Chapter cxxix. *V*

13 Chapter cxxvii. *V*

est boni regiminis. Grossicies vero digitorum et brevitas <sup>Thick short fingers.</sup> significant stoliditatem et insipiem.

*Capitulum .15. de pedibus et tibiis, talis et genibus.*

**P**edes vero grossi et carnosus significant satuitatem et <sup>Great feet.</sup> amorem injurie. Pedes vero parvi et leves significant <sup>Little feet and legs.</sup> duriciem. Et subtilitas tibiarum significat ignorantem; et earum grossicies significat audaciam et fortitudinem. Latitudo vero tibiarum et talorum significat fortitudinem corporis. Multitudo carnis in genibus significat debilitatem <sup>Great knees.</sup> virtutis et molliciem. |

*Capitulum .16. de modo ambulandi sive de incessu.* 130 a.

**C**ujus passus sunt lati et tardi prosperabitur in omnibus <sup>Long steps.</sup> operibus suis et factis. Cujus passus sunt breves, <sup>Short steps.</sup> est impetuosus, suspiciosus, potens in operibus male voluntatis.

*(Capitulum .17.) De homine optime memorie et bene composito per comparacionem ad signa predicta, et de modo judicandi, capitulum .17.*

**I**lle vero homo est optime memorie bene compositus <sup>The signs of a good body and a good mind.</sup> in natura, qui habet carnes molles, humidas, mediocres inter asperitatem et lenitatem, et qui est non nimis longus nec nimis brevis, atque declinans ad rubedinem, mitis aspectus, capilli plani mediocriter, magnorum oculorum et declinancium ad rotunditatem, mediocris et mensurati capitis, magnitudine colli equalis bene dispositi, cujus eciam humeri parum declinant, carentes carnositate in cruribus et genibus, clare vocis cum temperancia in sublimitate (vel subtilitate) et grossicie, longarum palmarum, longorum digitorum declinancium ad subtilitatem, mediocris risus,<sup>1</sup> et modice derisionis, cujus aspectus quasi commixtus est leticie et jocunditati.

<sup>1</sup> aliter, modici risus.

Do not judge by  
one sign,

but compare one  
with another.

Verum tamen non oportet te precipitare sentenciam et judicium tuum in uno signorum istorum, set collige testimonia universorum, et cum tibi dant diversa singna et adversa, declina semper ad meliorem et probabiliorem.<sup>1</sup>

*Completus est tractatus de signis et moribus naturalibus hominum ad regem Alexandrum magnificum qui dominatus fuit toti orbi, dictusque Monarcha in Septrione.*

Non est hic liber completus in Latino set multa magnalia deficiunt, ut patet ex Greco et Arabico. Item cum in correccione istius exemplaris habui quatuor exemplaria, scio quod ablata sunt ab eis quedam capitula per stulticiam aliquorum. Et ideo queruntur in aliis exemplaribus. Solebam enim habere integrum quantum fuit translatum.

*Explicit Liber Secreti Secretorum Aristotilis ad regem Alexandrum, qui liber intitulatur liber decem scienciarum, cum quibusdam declaracionibus fratris Rogeri Bacun de ordine minorum.*

*Deo gracias.*

<sup>1</sup> Unde dicit lex, in dubiis benignorem interpretationem facere non solum justius est, set tucius.

This book is not complete :  
some fools have deleted several chapters.  
I used to have a complete copy of the translation.

The following passages are inserted in the edition of Achillini 1500, and in those which derive from it.

Q

(125.G<sup>1</sup>.) Sciendum tamen quod scire producere argentum et aurum, verum est impossibile: quoniam non est possibile equiparari Deo Altissimo in operibus suis propriis. Sed cum declarata fuerint hec per accidentia ipsa comprehendentur, sine impedimento, et hec est summa institutionum necessariarum. Conveniens est ergo negociari in accidentibus: quoniam cum iverimus in ipsis directa via, celatur dispositio eorum. Accipe igitur auripigmenti partem: et pone in aceto donec albefiat. Postea pone partem argenti vivi et argenti: et comisce cum oleo ovorum: et pone in crucibulo. Et si egreditur album, sicut avis que vocatur in Arabico achavo et in Hebraico peres, laudetur Deus: si non, reponas quoad convertatur. Et tunc pone *<unum>* partem super septem Martis, et unum album: et erit laudabile. Post accipe ex 'ros chasag': et facias comedere ex eo peres, quod vocatur achav in Arabico, quousque convertetur viride: et misce secum sciavzag, *<et>* cera, et omnia cum oleo ovorum: et pone *<unum drachma>* ex super duo ex sole et luna in duobus partibus, et erit laudabile.

Alchemy is the highest science

known only to God.

Deal with the accidents,

begin with orpiment,

treat with mercury and silver,

project it on iron and silver,

a process of multiplication.

(126. G.) Et facias anulum ex argento et auro puro, et ex acui rubeo, et sculpe in eo formam puelle dischoperto capite, exultantis et fortificantis et equitantis leonem, et salutent coram ipsa sex homines, in mane diei primi, et hora solis et sidere leonis, et Sole in eo: et Luna in gradu decimo celi, quod vocatur seraph in Arabico, et erit rethe a remotioribus ex eo. Portantem hunc anulum honorabunt et voci sue obediens in hoc seculo, et nemo evitabit in manu sua.

A talisman of power

which brings honour and obedience.

(127. G.) Bis. Ipsum est ex venenis et magnis: et non A great poison appetet in colore suo cum videtur, neque in sapore cum gustatur: quia non est in eo amaritudo sicut in basilisco aut felle, aut sicut syr aurei quod vocatur 'calas'. Inconveniens est igitur quod non sit prope te: quoniam ipsum

without taste or smell

<sup>1</sup> G refers to the chapter in the Hebrew text published by Dr. Gaster.

for use in  
war.

Rely on your  
star

remember you  
are mortal,

attend to main  
principles.

Agriculture is  
better than  
alchemy.

I will teach  
you the virtues  
of stones.

The virtue of  
the bezoor

found in China

used against  
poison.

It brings  
honour

and preserves  
from epilepsy.

The virtues of  
the pearl

est ex instrumentis bellicosis latentibus, quo expellis nocum-  
mentum in gubernatione tua, sicut notificavi tibi. At  
sustentamentum omnium istorum est bonum sydus radicale  
in quo natus es. Et propter hoc non juvabit aliis acuties  
neque exercitium. Servies igitur primo Viventi in eternum : 5  
et cogita in futuro seculo ac si moriereris cras. Et idoneum  
est quod facias res civiles ex anima universalis : et thesauri-  
zabis in ea particularem. Et intellige in hoc sicut idoneum  
est, scilicet ex signo magno.

(128. G.) Scias etiam quod chimia est scientia que non est 10  
vera. Nisi aratio et seminatio : et propter hoc erit ama-  
biliar oculis tuis : et ipsis perficies et videbis gubernationem  
tuam : et exaltabis potestatem tuam, auxilio divino.

(129. G.) Sed quoniam in lapidibus sunt proprietates  
memorande : ideo recordabor virtutum secretarum eorum 15  
in quibus invenies utilitatem : et experimentum testatur  
super hoc.

(130. G.) Lapis bazar est nomen Perse, et 'gubernatio  
impedimenti', quia stringit ventum. Et est duorum colo-  
rum, scilicet crocei sicut cera : et viridis sicut oliva. Et 20  
inventio sua est in terris zic (Sin) : et ferunt quod reperitur  
in felle basilisci. Et preparant ipsum caliditate ; propter  
hoc est tenuis tactu. Proprietas ipsius est juvamentum  
contra venena omnium vegetabilium et mineralium : et ex  
morsu animalium minitorum et punctura. Et cum bibitum 25  
fuerit ex eo pondus granorum .xii. mortem vitat, et venenum  
extrahit per sudorem. Et qui portaverit ipsum ligatum in  
anulo honorabitur ab omnibus hominibus : et ab omni  
aspiciente. Et si pulverizetur et spargatur super locum  
morsus animalis venenosus, abstrahit venenum ; et si putre- 30  
fieret locus, ipsum liberabit. Et si pulverizetur ex eo  
pondus, ij. granorum ordei et liquefiat, et projiciatur in  
ore basilisci, interficit eum. Et si suspenderis ipsum in  
collo pueri, qui non est passus malum caducum aut aliquod  
accidens, liberabit eum ab omni accidente. 35

(131. G.) Lapis margarite : et ipse est al Jacut in  
Arabico, est triplicis generis : rubeus : croceus : arenosus.

Quilibet istorum ligatus in anulo, et suspensus collo, intrantis civitatem in qua est infirmitas 'tamon', liberat eum ab infirmitate illa. Margarita rubea in anulo ligata portantis cor fortificat, et eum reddit honorabilem in conspectu hominum. Et qui sculpsert in eo formam leonis: et fortuna leonis et solis, et solem in ipso, et scientias (i. e. radiis) elongaverit ab eo, honorabitur multum, et pervenit ad res suas cito, et cito perficit voluntatem suam, et non videt in lecto somnia timorosa.

preserves from epidemics;

(132. G.) Zamrad est lapis cujus proprietas est honorare portantem ipsum in anulo. Sed dat dolorem stomachi cum suspenditur: et a fortiori si tangat ipsum. Et juvat ad lepram quando teritur et bibitur. Qui ligaverit eum in anulo et suspenderit antequam veniat dolor ventris liberatur ab eo.

The virtues of the emerald.

(134. G.) Alchahat est lapis mollis ethiops splendens, et ejus tactus est frigidus: et portans ipsum non superabitur ab igne neque comburetur. Et prodest ex omni egritudine calida augmentantem: accipiens enim ipsum reperit frigiditatem multam, et prospicitur ab eo sic quod non potest avertere oculum ab eo. Siquis igitur portaverit ipsum in loco evidenti exaltabitur in oculis hominum, et honorabunt ipsum. Et non potest homo preliari cum habente ipsum in manu: sed miratur cum aspicit ipsum. Propter quod operaberis in eo sicut facis in secreto quod notificavi tibi.

The virtues of the agate (?).

(133. G.) Amatistes est 'piram' in Arabico, et est lapis quo magni reges honorantur et thesaurizant ipsum in thesauris suis. Et proprietas ejus magna est, et non est homo potens occidere accipientem ipsum, et ex nunc non est visus in manu hominis occisi. Et cum pulverizetur et potetur ex eo, liberat a morsu scorponum et animalium minutorum punctura et serpentum occidentium.

The virtues of the turquoise,

its wearer cannot be slain,

it preserves from poison.

(135. G.) O Alexander hoc sufficit tibi ex lapidibus, et si intelliges in eo et aspicies: Deus per misericordias suas faciet te prosperari in eo quod petiisti ex me.

This is the end of the chapter on stones.

# THE TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC

## THE SECRET OF SECRETS

Translated from MS. Gotha 1869 (A), with variants from MS. Gotha 1870 (B), B.M. Or. 3118 (C), B.M. Or. 6421 (D), Laud. Or. 210 (W), and the Hebrew text of Gaster (H).

*Section b*  
p. 36

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. May God prosper the Commander of the Faithful, and may He help him to guard the Faith, and may He preserve him to cherish the fortunes of the true believers.

Surely his servant has obeyed his command and followed his injunction in studying the work of direction for the management of state known as the Secret of Secrets compiled by the excellent philosopher Aristotle son of Nikomacus of Mahda, for his pupil the great King Alexander son of Philip of Macedonia, known as Dhu 'l-Karnain, when he was disabled by age and infirmity from accompanying the great conqueror during his wars.

Alexander had appointed Aristotle as his prime minister, and esteemed him as a particular friend, since Aristotle was possessed of sound judgement, desire for learning, and clear understanding, and in addition to special brilliant gifts, was versed in the practical and religious sciences; further he was pious, upright, humble, just, and truthful. For this reason he is included, by some learned men, among the prophets.

I have seen it written in several books of Grecian history that God made a revelation to him, saying: Verily I prefer to call thee an angel rather than a man.

Strange and marvellous things are related about him which are too numerous to mention. There are different traditions about his death. It is contended by some that he died a natural death and is buried in his tomb which is well known; while the others affirm that he was lifted up to Heaven in a column of light.

p. 37

By following his good advice and obeying his commands, Alexander achieved his famous conquests of cities and countries, and ruled supreme in the regions of the earth far and wide,

Arabs as well as Persians coming under his sway ; nor did he ever oppose him in word or deed.

On account of their great mutual friendship many moral letters passed between them. One of them is Aristotle's reply to Alexander. The latter, after conquering Persia and subjugating the powerful ones of that country, had written to Aristotle, saying :

'O my excellent preceptor and just minister, I am to inform you that I have found in the land of Persia men possessing sound judgement and powerful understanding, who are ambitious of bearing rule. Hence I have decided to put them all to death. What is your opinion in this matter ?'

Aristotle replied : 'If you are bent upon killing all of them, and are able to do so by reason of your power over them, you cannot change their climate and their country. Therefore conquer them by kindness and benevolence, and so obtain their love,—farewell.'

Alexander carried out these injunctions and made the Persians his most loyal subjects.

Yuhanna ibn al-Batrik, the translator, says : I visited every temple where philosophers have deposited their secrets and all the great recluses who, having a fine knowledge thereof, might fulfil my quest, until I arrived at the temple of the Sun which had been built by the philosopher Askalabiyus<sup>1</sup> [Aesculapius] for himself. Here I met a devout and ascetic priest possessed of deep learning and unerring judgement, towards whom I used courtesy, humility, and strategy, till at last he let me see the writings deposited in that temple, and I found in those writings what I was seeking for. Then I returned with my prize to the august presence, and by the help of Almighty God and the interest of the Commander of the Faithful, I set about translating it.

I translated it from the Greek into Syriac and then from Syriac into Arabic. The first thing that I had found therein was a manuscript of the philosopher Aristotle addressed to the Emperor Alexander, as follows :—

I have acquainted myself, O gifted son and just and exalted King—may God lead thee to the path of true guidance and may He save thee from being misled by carnal desire, and may He help thee with the reward of the next world and of this one—with

<sup>1</sup> *Hermes IV.*

thy epistle in which thou has kindly spoken of thy regret at parting with me and at my inability to accompany thee; and thou desirest that I should draw out for thee a code which should serve as a guide in all thy needs, and take my place with thee in all thine affairs. Thou knowest that my remaining behind thee has not been because I no longer desire thy company, but that it has been caused owing to my advanced age and infirmity.

As for the matter that thou hast asked for, it is so great that even the bosoms of the living cannot bear it—to speak nothing of lifeless paper. My obligations to thee make it incumbent on me to carry out thy request as far as it is right to do so, but at the same time I conjure thee not to compel me to reveal this secret more than what I am depositing in this book. If thou study it earnestly, I trust there will be no veil of obscurity between it and thee, for God has endowed thee with understanding and gifted thee p. 41 with rare wisdom. Therefore study its secrets according to my previous guidance and teaching, and thou shalt be rightly guided and achieve thy desire, if God will.

I have darkly alluded to certain prohibited and profound mysteries, lest this book should fall into the hands of wicked and tyrannical men, who might discover what God did not deem them worthy to understand, and thus I should break the covenant which was laid upon me, and betray the secret entrusted to me by God. And I bind thee to guard these secrets, even as I have been bound. And he who betrays its secret shall not be safe from the evil consequences which shall soon overtake him. And may God preserve thee and us by His mercy.

Now I mention to thee above all else that which I wish to make thy intimate friend [i. e. a constant rule of life]: that a king must have two helpers particularly for himself: one of them is intellectual, namely, the strength and composure of his own soul. For the soul is strengthened by the union and composure of its faculties just as a king is strengthened by union of his subjects, and vice versa. Similarly there should be a perfect harmony and co-operation between the potential and actual faculties of a ruler.

This harmony and co-operation among the two kinds of faculties, or between the ruler and the ruled, are gained by two means, one of them is evident and apparent, and the other is secret and p. 42 mysterious. With the former means I have already acquainted

you, namely: treat them with liberality and make them independent. This is connected with the subject of economy, which will be mentioned in its own place. The second of the two helps is the help given by the moral faculties to the actual ones [i.e., it is a moral means of winning the hearts of the subjects, as the first one was a physical or material one]. And this takes precedence of even the first. This, too, is gained by two means: one of which is apparent and the other secret. The first means of uniting the subjects and creating harmony among the ruled ones is to treat them with justice and leniency. The secret means is one peculiar to the saints and sages whom God has chosen from amongst His creatures and endowed with His own knowledge. And I shall impart to thee this secret as well as others in certain chapters of this book, which is outwardly a treasure of wisdom and golden rules, and inwardly the cherished object itself. So when you have studied its contents and understood its secrets you will thereby achieve your highest desires and fulfil your loftiest expectations. Rejoice in it therefore, and may God help you to attain this knowledge and to honour the masters thereof.

This my book contains ten<sup>1</sup> discourses.

*Section e*

Discourse I. The kinds of kings.

Discourse II. On the position and character of a king and the course he should pursue in private affairs and in all administrative work.

Discourse III. On the form of Justice whereby a king is made perfect, and nobles and commons are governed.

Discourse IV. On his ministers, their number, and the way of governing them.

Discourse V.<sup>2</sup> On the king's scribes, their prerogatives and ranks.

Discourse VI.<sup>3</sup> On his ambassadors and their qualities, and the policy to be adopted in sending them.

Discourse VII.<sup>4</sup> On governors of his subjects, and those who are appointed to collect his revenues, and other matters connected with his public offices.

Discourse VIII. On the government of his generals, and other officers of his army and the lower ranks.

<sup>1</sup> seven *IV*.

<sup>2</sup> IV and V make IV of *IV*.

<sup>3</sup> VI is V of *IV*.

<sup>4</sup> VII, VIII, IX make VI of *IV*.

Discourse IX. On the management of war ; modes of strategy to be adopted in it. How to be safe from its results. How to meet the enemy and times chosen for doing so. When to set out. The name of the general appointed for forces and for war.

Discourse X.<sup>1</sup> On the magical sciences, the secrets of astrology, the methods of winning over the people, the virtues of minerals and herbs, &c., useful for the above-mentioned purposes.<sup>2</sup>

p. 42 con.

## DISCOURSE I.

### *On the Kinds of Kings.*

*Section f* There are four kinds of kings : 1. A king who is liberal to himself and liberal to his people. 2. A king who is liberal to himself but miserly to his people. 3. A king who is miserly to himself and miserly to his people.

p. 43 The Rūmi say that there is no harm if a king is miserly to himself but liberal to his people. And the Indians say that it is right for a king to be miserly to himself as well as to his people. The Persians contradict the Indians and say that a king ought to be liberal to himself as well as to his people. But all of them agree to this, that to be liberal to himself and miserly to his people is vicious for a king and corrupts his kingdom.

In this discourse it is necessary for us to explain liberality and avarice, and to describe the evils of excess in liberality and those of deficiency in it.

It has been already explained that all qualities and actions are vitiated as they approach their extremes, and that it is extremely hard to observe moderation in liberality, but that it is easy enough in the case of avarice. Moderation in liberality is to give what is needed and when it is needed, and to help a deserving person to the extent of one's ability. But if one exceeds this one becomes guilty of excess and falls into extravagance. And he who gives what is not needed is unworthy of praise. And he who gives untimely is like one who gives water<sup>3</sup> to one who is himself standing on the bank of a river. And he who gives that which is not needed,

<sup>1</sup> X is VII of IV.

<sup>2</sup> IV. adds : And wonderful things of the mysteries of leechcraft, of what expels poisons without requiring the aid of a physician, and many similar useful things, as we shall hereafter mention.

<sup>3</sup> bitter water C.

or to one who does not deserve it, is like one who helps his enemy against himself.

But he who gives the right thing to the right person at the right time, is liberal to himself as well as to his people. He is right in his acts and truly politic. It is this one whom the ancients have named liberal, and not he who gives great gifts and bestows rich presents to those who do not deserve them. For such a one is extravagant and spendthrift, for he squanders the wealth of his state.

As for avarice, it is a name which is unworthy of kings and of a state. And when it happens to be the nature of a king, he p. 44 should entrust the gifts of his state to a trustworthy person from among his close friends who would prevent him from being miserly.

O Alexander, I say to thee, that the king who exceeds the bounds of liberality and throws more burden on his state than it can bear, verily he will be the destruction of himself and of his state. As I say to thee, O Alexander, and I have never ceased from saying it to thee, that generosity and liberality and the permanence of a state depend upon withholding oneself from that which is in the hands of the people, and abstaining from their possessions. And I have seen it written in some testaments of Hermes the Great, that the perfect magnanimity of a king, the soundness of his judgement, and the permanence of his good name depend upon his abstaining from the possessions of the people.

O Alexander, the cause of the downfall of the kings of Hanaj<sup>1</sup> was no other than this, that they extracted too much revenue from the people and seized their property. The people took refuge in the Temple of Lightning and asked the help of God. So He sent a devastating wind against the tyrants which destroyed them—and parties rose up against them. And the kingdom became corrupt. And if God had not requited them as He did, their own acts would have brought about the corruption of their state and the downfall of their realm. For verily, wealth is the means of the subsistence of animal life, and an essential part of it. And life cannot exist after the dissipation of that part.

O Alexander, an essential part of liberality and magnanimity p. 45

<sup>1</sup> Hayāhij *W.*

is to give up seeking a pretext to injure another, and trying to find out the hidden faults of others, and to avoid mention of one's gifts.

The perfection of all virtues is to turn away from perpetual fault-finding, to honour the generous, to meet men with a cheerful face and to return their greetings, and to overlook the faults of the ignorant.<sup>1</sup>

O Alexander, I have explained to thee what I have never ceased from explaining.<sup>2</sup> And perhaps this will fix in thy mind what I wish thee to act upon, and which will lead thee to success. Now I tell thee a short maxim which alone would have sufficed to guide thee in all matters temporal and spiritual even if I had not told thee others.

O Alexander, reason is the head of policy and judgement. It is the health<sup>3</sup> of the soul and the mirror<sup>4</sup> of faults. By means of it hateful objects are thrown down and lovable objects are exalted. It is the chief of all praiseworthy things, and the fountain-head of all glories.

O Alexander,<sup>5</sup> the first instrument of reason is the desire of

<sup>1</sup> *W* adds : O Alexander, it is therefore clear and true that liberality and nobility are undoubtedly to be praised, and that meanness and bareness are to be condemned. Liberality is good and beautiful, the most ornamental and lovely thing among sovereigns, and the poet Homer has well said : 'The mean man never attains to eminent rank, but the noble man is raised to high degree.'

<sup>2</sup> *A* reads : what I have not explained to them.

<sup>3</sup> armour *C.*

<sup>4</sup> remover *W.*

*W* reads : The first teaching of understanding is coveting of a good name. Whoever covets it truly, his motive is good, but whoever covets it in excess is blameworthy and to be hated. And men, as it were, are seeking after good fame, and the proof of this is that where they strive with each other for rank in trades, &c., they desire rank only for the good name thereof. Good name is the thing to be sought. And lordship is not to be desired for its own sake but for good name. If lordship is coveted for other causes it produces envy, and envy produces lying, and lying is the very root and essence of vileness, as the Greek poet Homer has well said : "A lie is no more use to a liar than its tail to a fox", and the offspring of lying is slander.

*B* reads : O Alexander, the first instrument of reason is the inclination towards a good name. And whoever inclines to it through its path, it is desirable for him. And whoever inclines towards it with excess it is detestable and deprecable for him. Because a good name is the object, and sovereignty begets tyranny, and tyranny begets conflict, and conflict begets hatred, and hatred begets quarrelling, and quarrelling begets enmity, and enmity begets strife, and strife begets war and destroys the population.

a good name. And he who considers this as the true object of sovereignty is right and praiseworthy, but whoso loves sovereignty for the sake of power and self-indulgence, is blameworthy and in error. To love sovereignty for its own sake leads to tyranny and injustice, which break the cord of attachment between the ruler and the ruled and destroy the allegiance of the people. p. 46 The loss of allegiance causes enmity. Enmity leads to dissension, dissension leads to hatred, and hatred to war. And war destroys law and civilization. And this leads to the opposition of nature, which destroys everything.

But when the object of sovereignty is glory and good name, it leads to sincerity. Sincerity leads to piety. And sincerity inclines to all praiseworthy things. Sincerity is the opposite of falsehood. It creates amity and high-mindedness. High-mindedness creates courtesy, which leads to friendship, which leads to liberality and mutual exchange of gifts, which lead to the establishment of law and civilization, which are in accordance with nature. Hence it is evident that he who seeks sovereignty with this true aim leaves a permanent good name behind him.

O Alexander, beware of encouraging thy lusts. They are destructive. For lusts lead to the ascendancy of the animal soul beyond what is necessary, so that the mortal body is tarnished and the immortal spirit is afflicted. The encouragement of lust causes voluptuousness, which leads to avarice, which leads to love of riches. Love of riches leads to meanness, which leads to greed. Greed leads to perfidy, which leads to robbery, p. 47 which leads to the loss of honour and manhood, which leads to strife, which destroys faith and love and ruins the world. And this is against nature. And God (may He be praised and exalted) knoweth best.

Likewise it leads to the opposition of nature, which is destructible to the whole affair.

C reads: O Alexander, the first sign of wisdom is to incline towards a (good) name; and, verily, it is desirable for one who turns to it from his path. And it is deprecable and blamable for one who turns to it with excess. For good name is the object, and sovereignty is not desired for itself; verily it is desired for a good name. And the first path of wisdom is a good name. And sovereignty begets the love of a good name. But if it is sought through a wrong way it begets envy, and envy begets falsehood, and falsehood is the root of all vices. And the result of falsehood is calumny. Calumny begets ill-will, ill-will begets tyranny, tyranny begets conflict . . . (as B).

## DISCOURSE II.

Section g *On the Quality<sup>1</sup> of the King, and the Nature and Conduct Proper to him.<sup>2</sup>*

The first thing necessary for a king as regards his own person is that he should be known by a distinguished name and addressed as such, so as to be distinguished from all others. For he is an outstanding figure which men point to and the goal they seek.

O Alexander, the king who makes his state subservient to the Law is worthy of his high position, and he who makes light of his high position is destroyed by it.

O Alexander, I say what the philosophers and revered divines whom we follow (the favour of God be upon them) have repeatedly said,<sup>3</sup> that the first quality needed in a king is wholly to observe divine commandments without disregarding or transgressing a single one of them, positive or negative. He must be a public example of temperance and sincere faith, for if he practise hypocrisy his guile will not succeed, since the people are never blind to his conduct. He should overlook shortcomings on the part of his subjects, even though that involves the loss of much money, for thus he will please God and p. 48 make himself beloved of God's servants. Connected<sup>4</sup> with this is his duty to respect those who represent religion, namely, upright judges and reverend doctors and spiritual leaders. He should be

<sup>1</sup> IV: ordinance. 'and . . . him', omit.

<sup>2</sup> B: and his food and drinks.

<sup>3</sup> B reads: that the first thing necessary for a king is to adopt for himself the observance of his religion, wholly and perfectly, without wasting anything from it, or from its commands and prohibitions. And that he should show to the public an ascetic life together with the belief in it. Because if there appears in him anything contrary to his belief, his plan shall never succeed, since his nature shall not be hidden from the people. And that he should not be satisfied with the omission of anything from its duties, although it may cost him great wealth. Because through it his Creator will be pleased and he will be loved even by his enemies, &c. [his creatures C].

<sup>4</sup> And one of those things which are akin to the above is respecting those on whom falls the burden of government, as the judges, lawyers, and spiritual leaders [and other men of learning B]. Then he should be great-minded without being cowardly [fond of war C], broad thinking, investigating, always trying to find out the consequences before their happening, kind, . . .

aspiring, without arrogance, broad-minded, of keen discernment, foreseeing the issues of events.

He ought to be merciful and kind. If he happens to fall into anger he should take care not to act on the impulse of the moment without reflection. When passion stirs in him he should suppress it by the power of reason, and rule his own soul. And if his passion is righteous, he should act upon it without showing violence or contempt.

Further he should adorn himself with comely ornament and peculiar dress, which shall attract the eye and delight the soul and distinguish him from other men. He ought also to have a melodious, eloquent, and loud voice. Loudness of voice is advantageous for a king when the occasion comes for rebuke, but he should spare loud words except in rare circumstances, lest he be heard too often, and the people, becoming familiar with his p. 49 talk, despise his authority.<sup>1</sup> It is best that he should speak to no one except in reply. He should rarely converse with his subjects or associate with them, especially with the common people.<sup>2</sup>

How praiseworthy is the method of the Indians, who say in the admonitions to their kings : The appearance of a king before the common people is detrimental to him and weakens his power. Therefore a king should show himself to them only from afar, and always when surrounded by a retinue and guards. Once a year, when the season of assembly comes, he appears before all his people. One of his eloquent ministers stands up before him and delivers a speech<sup>3</sup> in which he praises God and thanks Him for

<sup>1</sup> *B, C, and W* (generally) read : Similarly he should appear to them clad in rich garments and rare ornaments which should astonish and please their eyes and please their souls, and by which he shall be distinguished from every one else. And it is necessary that he should have a sweet speech, eloquent tongue, and loud voice. Because loudness of voice is good [a weapon *C*] for him at the time of reprimanding. And he should be sparing of speech [of loud speech *C*] except at the time of necessity and in rare cases [in the council-chamber *W*], so that it may not become familiar to the hearers and thus lose its power of inspiring them with fear.

<sup>2</sup> *B, C* : And similarly he should be sparing of associating with the people, and should mix with them as little as possible, especially with the common people.

<sup>3</sup> *B, C* : How praiseworthy is the custom of the Indians with regard to the policy of their kings, since they say that the appearance of the king before the public degrades him in their eyes and lowers their estimate of his power. And it is necessary that he should not appear to them except at a distance, and surrounded with his retinue and arms in the interval. And

their allegiance to their sovereign. Then he says how well pleasing they are, and how much care is taken on their behalf, and exhorts them to be obedient and warns them against disobedience. Then he reads their petitions, hears their complaints, dispenses justice, and grants gifts to them. He pardons their sins and makes them feel how near he is to the highest and lowest p. 50 among them. As he comes out among his people only once in a year and does not obtrude upon them, they remember that as a great event which gave them joy and pleasure. They relate it to their relatives and children, so that their little ones grow up to obey and love him. So he is well spoken of in private and in public, and thus he becomes safe from the rising of parties against him and from the intrigues of the seditious. The ambitious will not seek to subvert his authority for that reason.

Also it is necessary that he should lower all the taxes, especially in the case of those who come into his presence as merchants and traders. Because by abstaining from their properties and treating them with justice, they will return more frequently and their number will increase, and his country will be greatly benefited by the variety of goods and men and beasts. And this is the means of the civilization of the country, increase of its revenue, flourishing of its condition, and humiliation of its enemies. Therefore he who abstains from little gains much.

And do not incline to that which does no good and is soon lost. But seek the wealth which is never exhausted, the life which never changes, the sovereignty which never ceases and permanency which never perishes, and a fair name, which is the p. 51 greatest treasure. Never adopt the habit of the brutes and wild beasts, which steal everything they find, and search for what they have not lost, have little regard for what they have obtained, and follow their lust in eating, drinking, mating, and sleeping.

O Alexander, lean not towards lechery, for it is a habit of swine.<sup>1</sup> And what glory is there in a thing in which the brutes excel thee? It emaciates the body, destroys life, corrupts the constitution (ideals *B*), causes effeminacy. We have likened it [to the habit of swine] and that is enough.

when it is the season of gathering their troops, which occurs once a year, he appears to the general public, and there stands before him the most eloquent of his ministers, who reads an address, &c. . . .

<sup>1</sup> They may excel thee in it, but it is not praiseworthy. *W.*

A king should participate in amusements with his family, for they warm the soul and please the senses and exhilarate the body. When he indulges in them, it should be for three or four days, or as long as he thinks proper. The courtiers should not know of this, but should be given to understand that he is privately engaged in important business affecting them. He should also have trusty emissaries to keep him well informed of important events.

A king should not wholly avoid eating and amusing himself with his favourite courtiers and notables, but it must not be done p. 52 oftener than twice or thrice in a year. He ought to honour those who deserve honour and assign them to their proper rank. In order to show his love for them he should praise them to their faces, and give them each cups of wine and present them with robes of honour as far as he is able. And if the present of a robe make a man faithful to his king, the king may then bestow on him a finer gift and show him a greater affection. He should treat the others in the same way, till he has dealt with them all.

It is also necessary for a king always to have much gravity and to laugh little. For excessive laughing destroys dignity and hastens on old age. All those who<sup>1</sup> present themselves in the king's assembly ought to observe due respect and to show befitting reverence.

If any one happens to commit an act of disrespect he should be duly punished. If he is of high rank, his punishment should be banishment from the assembly till he learns better manners. But if any one is guilty of an offence wilfully done in contempt of the royal presence,<sup>2</sup> his punishment should be death. O Alexander,<sup>3</sup> in the books of the kings of India it is said that the cause of a monarch ruling his subjects, or being ruled by them, is merely a strong or a weak mind. Aesculapius<sup>4</sup> says of rulers : The best ruler is he who resembles a vulture surrounded by carcases, not he who resembles a carcase surrounded by vultures.

O Alexander, loyalty to the king springs from four qualities : p. 53 religious feeling, love, desire, and fear. Remove the complaints of the people, and relieve them of injustice and oppression. And

<sup>1</sup> sit before him to be of grave demeanour and to show their dread. *W.*

<sup>2</sup> *W* inserts : he must be exiled after being punished. But if he is one of the army or of those who bear arms, . . .

<sup>3</sup> *W*: The Indians say : the difference between a monarch . . .

<sup>4</sup> *W*: And they also say :

do not give them an opportunity of speaking [complaint], because when they are enabled to speak they can also act. Therefore strive to stop their tongues and thou shalt be safe from their actions. Know that fear of the king is the peace of the realm. And it is said in the book of the Indians [Persians *B*]:<sup>1</sup> Let thy fear in their souls be worse than thy sword in their hearts.

Verily the king resembles the rain which is a draught from God and a divine blessing, reviving the earth and those who are on it. It may bring inconvenience to travellers, demolish houses, cause lightning and floods which destroy men and animals, and make the sea to rage and bring about severe calamity. But this does not prevent mankind, when they consider the effects of the grace of God whereby vegetation is revived and sustenance comes forth and mercy is shed abroad, from appreciating the favour of God and thanking Him for it.

f. 54 And the king also resembles the winds which God sends as harbingers of His blessings. He drives the clouds by means of them, and causes them to fertilize the fruits and impart new life to mankind; by means of them He makes their rivers to flow, lights their fires, and drives their ships. They injure many things on land and sea, both the lives and property of mankind, and cause plagues and simoons. Men may complain of them to God, but He does not make them cease from the function He has assigned to them.

The same is the case with summer and winter, the heat and cold of which God created for the sake of fructification and procreation; although harra may be done by the heat and cold of these seasons, with their simoons and chills.<sup>2</sup>

A king is in the same position.

O Alexander, inquire into the condition of the weak in thy kingdom, far and near; help them from thy treasury in time of p. 55 famine. Bestow this office on a trustworthy man who is well acquainted with their misfortune, and who is as anxious to help them as thou art thyself. Because, verily, to remove their wants is to help to preserve the Law, to comfort<sup>3</sup> the hearts of the common people, and to please the Creator.

<sup>1</sup> *W*: O Alexander, the fear of a king should strike deeper into the souls than his sword into their hearts' blood.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *B* proceeds: To discuss this point at length would occupy too much space, so I mention here only a part of it in brief. (Then follows the section on the four parts of the body, p. 202.)

<sup>3</sup> *W*: quiet.

O Alexander, be careful of thine affairs, so that thine actions may be right. It is good policy to remove the fear of thy punishment from the hearts of pious and peaceful people and to inspire the minds of suspicious characters and mischievous people with the fear of thy chastisement, so much so that they imagine in their seclusion that thine eyes are upon their actions.

O Alexander, garner up as much store of corn as possible as a precaution against years of famine. And when there is scarcity take out all that thou hast garnered and other people of thy empire have garnered. This will put down every corruption and disturbance, and will help to give permanency to law.<sup>1</sup>

O Alexander, the most emphatic command I give thee and have always given, by obeying which thy rule will be strong and thy sovereignty lasting, is to refrain from shedding blood without cause and from exacting the extreme penalty of the law, for God has particularly warned His creatures against it.<sup>2</sup> Thou mayest act merely on appearance and not know the hidden truth. Therefore try to avoid it as much as possible, and save thyself from error and its fearful consequences. Verily, Hermes the Great is right in saying : When one creature wrongfully kills another, the angels complain to their Maker and cry out : 'This thy servant<sup>3</sup> has p. 56 tried to make himself like unto Thee.' Then if he has killed him in punishment of an act of murder, God<sup>4</sup> replies to them<sup>5</sup> : 'He had killed, therefore he has been killed.' But if he has been killed for the sake of worldly good, or on false suspicion, God replies to His angels : 'By My glory and power !<sup>6</sup> I make forfeit<sup>7</sup> the blood of this My slave.' And the angels continue<sup>8</sup> to curse the slayer in all their prayers and invocations<sup>9</sup> so that his life may

<sup>1</sup> *W* inserts here : O Alexander, be strong in thy policy and sound in thy judgement, and seek integrity, so that the people may follow thee. Be gentle and compassionate, but let not thy gentleness and compassion become a mischief [when dealing] with such as deserve punishment and correction. If thou look well to it, pious and righteous men will be safe from thy punishment, while the sinful and corrupt will learn to know thy vengeance. The Hebrew follows the Eastern text generally.

<sup>2</sup> *C, D, and W* read : for granting and taking away of life is the prerogative of God [Who] alone [knows the secrets of created things]. *W.*

<sup>3</sup> *W*: calls unto Thee.

<sup>4</sup> *W*: God, Whose name be blessed and His glory exalted.

<sup>5</sup> *W*: He slew, and was slain.

<sup>6</sup> *W*: I will not forsake the blood of my servant.

<sup>7</sup> lawful to be shed. <sup>8</sup> *W*: crying.

<sup>9</sup> *W*: until the blood is avenged.

be forfeited. And if the culprit happens to die<sup>1</sup> a natural death according as is destined, and is not slain, then he draws on himself the wrath of God all the more, and is consigned to perpetual punishment and pain, unless he dies repentant.

O Alexander, in all cases where punishment is necessary, you will find that a long imprisonment or a severe chastisement is sufficient, and this I need not explain in detail. But in exacting penalties, follow the writings of thy divine ancestors and thine actions will always be right. O Alexander, consider thy weakest enemy as if he were the strongest. Do not despise him, because many a weak and contemptible enemy becomes a powerful one, whose treatment is difficult and whose disease is baffling.

O Alexander, beware of perfidy, for it is the nature of foolish children. Its consequence is evil, and although it may achieve some little, it depriveth of much. Thus beware of breaking thy promises and violating thy covenants. For<sup>2</sup> that is an extreme form of treachery, a failure of manliness, and a destroyer of much worldly success, which I have previously warned thee to avoid.

P. 57 O Alexander, thou knowest that on thy right hand and on thy left are two spirits who reckon against thee thy smallest and greatest words and actions, whereof they inform thy Maker, Who knoweth best. Therefore guide thy conduct<sup>3</sup> in the knowledge that all thy secret and public deeds are laid before thy Maker.

O Alexander, what can compel a king to take an oath? There is no hand over a king's hand except that of God. Therefore never make use of an oath, unless even to be cut with a knife would not make you break it. For verily, Inakh, Safoor, and Hananij lost their kingdoms simply through breaking their oaths for the sake of worldly goods, and their government perished through their excessive use of force.

The breaking of agreements in state policy is required in certain situations, as I have before mentioned. This is not the place to explain these, but further on in this book I will refer to them briefly. Ponder them and thou shalt be successful, if God will.

<sup>1</sup> *W*: suddenly, he remains for ever in punishment and pain, because the Lord is wroth with him.

<sup>2</sup> *W*: this is an important part of thy Faith of which I have spoken to thee before.

<sup>3</sup> *W*: so that he who beholds it may rejoice and make it known to thy Creator.

O Alexander, never grieve for what is past, for it is the p. 58 quality of women and weak persons.<sup>1</sup> And show politeness and manliness, because it will increase thy wealth and humiliate thy enemies. And order the people of thy country to read, and study the arts and sciences. And treat generously those who distinguish themselves in learning and science. Read the petitions of thy people carefully and reward their good deeds. This will increase the love of the people to thee, and perpetuate thy name in history. O Alexander, the Greeks did not acquire greatness and fame except by their love of knowledge and their exertions to acquire it. So much so, that their maidens in the homes of their fathers were learned in the rules of their religion and their laws. p. 59 They were acquainted with the situations of the seven planets, the bows of day and night, with the strings of the bows and their quivers, with the courses of the moon. They knew how to make predictions by stars, what hours to choose for various purposes, and other sciences, such as medicine, &c.

O Alexander, do not put thy trust in the service of women, except the woman<sup>2</sup> who values her loyalty above her life, and thy life and thy possessions. For thou art no more than a mere trust in their hands, and thy life is at their mercy. Beware of poisons, for many kings have lost their lives by them. And, in taking medicine, do not trust to one physician, for a single man is liable to be seduced. If possible have ten physicians,<sup>3</sup> and take the medicine regarding the use of which they all agree. Thy medicines should be prepared in the presence of all thy physicians,<sup>4</sup> as well as of one of thy own trusty servants who understands medicines and knows the method of compounding and weighing them. Remember the mother of the Indian king who p. 60 sent to thee some presents, one of which was a girl who had been brought up on poison until her nature had become that of poisonous serpents. And if I had not found it out through my knowledge of the Indian kings and physicians, and had not suspected her to be capable of inflicting a fatal bite, surely she would have killed thee.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *W* adds: Deliberation and judgement will prevent this (if God wills) so that no inconsistency shall appear either in thy words or actions.

<sup>2</sup> *W*: whom thou hast tried and found devoted to thee and what belongs to thee.

<sup>3</sup> *W* adds: but not nine.      <sup>4</sup> *W* adds: thyself being present or one.

<sup>5</sup> *W* reads: she surely would have killed thee by her touch and by her perspiration, and thou shouldst have perished.

O Alexander, guard thy noble immortal soul, for verily, it is a trust with thee. And do not be like the ignorant people of the temples who follow the letter<sup>1</sup> without understanding its meaning.

*Section h* And if it may be possible for thee do not rise nor sit nor eat nor drink nor do anything except at the time chosen by astrology, for thus you will prosper ; because, verily, God has not created anything uselessly. And it was through it that the learned Plato came to know the situations of the parts of compounds with the p. 61 difference of their colours [qualities] at their conception according to their composing relations. Hence he discovered the art of painting<sup>2</sup> on silk and drawing of pictures. And do not listen to those fools who say that the science of astrology is<sup>3</sup> false and useless, and that one who predicts future events by means of astrology is an impostor. And I say that it is necessary to pay due regard to astrology. For although man cannot avoid his fate, yet by knowing it beforehand he prepares himself for it and makes use of the remedies calculated to avert it. As people provide themselves with shelter, fuel, furs, &c., to defend themselves against the rigours of coming winter. Similarly to meet the hot weather they provide themselves with cooling things. And against the years of famine they collect provisions and store them up ; likewise for fear of strife they emigrate to another country. There is another advantage, and that is that when men know of events before they happen, they can ask God to avert them, and before the crisis they may pray to God and humble themselves before p. 62 Him, and ask for forgiveness and pardon, and repent and fast and pray and beseech Almighty God to spare them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A* : who yield obedience.

<sup>2</sup> *W* : the dibaj (fringe) and all the Ideas.

<sup>3</sup> *W* : a secret knowledge which no one can obtain, or the opinions of those who believe that this science gives false prognostications and who do not know that it came first of all by inspiration of God.

<sup>4</sup> *W* and the Hebrew insert here : Alexander, honour thy wazir more than thyself, and seek his advice in small or in great matters, and keep him near thy council chamber, for he is thy honour before all the nobles and thy friend in private, and thy protector against evil-doers. Take, for example, the king and queen [wazir in the Eastern game] in chess, when he is with her, and when he is separated from her. This is the best illustration of my meaning ; and do not believe that the government can stand without a wazir, for that is absurd. Do not neglect to ponder on these examples, so that you may be guided aright, if God please. They then proceed at once to Book III.

And the science of the stars is divided into three parts: the composition of the spheres, and the direction of the planets, and the distribution of the stars, and their distances and their motions, and this science is called Astronomy. There is another part of it, namely, the knowledge of how the circling of the spheres and the rising of the constellations indicate events before they happen under the sphere of the moon, and this science is called the Science of Decrees. And the root of the science of the stars is the knowledge of three things: Planets, heavenly spheres, and the Signs of the Zodiac.

As for the stars ('kaukab') known by means of observation, they are one thousand and twenty-nine in number.<sup>1</sup>

I am writing for thee a secret of the science of therapeutics *Section i* which will make thee independent of physicians in the matter of p. 64 preserving thy health. For the methods of preserving health and soundness of body are the most useful things to be explained and acted upon in the interest of matters temporal as well as spiritual.

No object of this world or of the next can be obtained without strength. And strength depends upon health. Health depends upon the temperance of the four humours. And God has created means of adjusting them, and He has instructed in them His people through His chosen prophets and friends. And the sages of India, Rome, Persia, and Greece have discovered, in this subject, things which no wise man ought to ignore. Because the man who disregards the well-being of himself would do so even more with regard to others. And it is not difficult for sound minds and right judgements to understand those methods by which health is gained and preserved.<sup>2</sup>

The most reliable school among those mentioned above is the Greek school, and whatever I shall write in this book will be according to the theories and beliefs of the Greeks.

p. 65

O Alexander, learned men and philosophers agree in this that man is composed of contrary humours, and needs food and drink. If he is deprived of them his life is destroyed; and if he commits excess in them, or eats and drinks too little, he is afflicted with diseases and weakness. But if he is temperate, he is benefited and his body and strength are improved. And all those wise men agree in their opinions that whoever exceeds the bounds of

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph occurs only in *A*.

<sup>2</sup> *A* reads: And if his faculties are clear, his desire is gained.

moderation in filling his stomach or in leaving it empty, or in sleeping or wakefulness, or in motion or rest, or in purgation, or letting blood, or in excessive cohabitation, is not safe from the onrush of diseases and sudden illnesses which I shall describe later. Now I am going to mention some advantages of moderation and evils of indulgence and excess.

It is agreed that whoso guards against excess, and observes moderation and temperance, obtains health and long life. I do not find any one of the ancients disagreeing in this, that all the affairs of this world—power, wealth, pleasure, and sensual gratification—depend upon existence. Therefore whoso loves existence p. 66 ought to observe all that is useful and agreeable to it, and shun sensual things, not preferring one meal to many meals.

Verily I have heard it related of the famous Socrates that he used to impose great abstemiousness upon himself. A disciple of his said to him : ‘O sage, if thou wilt increase a little thy food, it will increase thy strength and vivacity.’ He replied : ‘O my son, verily I eat in order to live, and do not live in order to eat.’ And I have seen that those who are abstemious and temperate, who restrict themselves to vegetable food and practise physical exercise, are healthier in body, keener in appetite, and lighter in motion than these who indulge themselves. Evidence of this is found in the case of people subject to labour and fatigue, Bedawin, and ascetics. And it is a true maxim that the best medicine is moderation in all things.

O Alexander, know that the preservation of health is obtained, by the will of God, by two means : firstly, eating and drinking that which agrees with the individual, the time of the year, the individual’s habits, and the customary nourishment by which his body is sustained. Secondly, purging himself of the superfluity which is engendered by destructive and corrupting humours. As p. 67 the human body and whatever is taken into it of food or drink are gradually dissolved and softened by natural heat, which dries up all the moisture of animal bodies, as well as of the rivers and seas : therefore, if the body is soft and warm, hard food benefits it most, because the solvent power of that body is great, by reason of the openness of its pores and the strength of its heat ; but if the body is hard and turbid and dry, then food that is moist and mild is the most beneficial, because the solvent power of that body is weak, by reason of the narrowness of its pores. In order

to be healthy, a man must take what agrees with his normal temperament. If his temperament is warm, moderately warm food will agree with him: and if his temperament is cold, then moderately cold things will be found to agree more with him, and similarly with moist and dry temperaments. And if heat and inflammation grow excessive in the body, either through eating food of an excessively heating nature or through the predominance of passion, then cold things of a contrary nature will be beneficial.

And when the stomach is warm, strong, and healthy, the best food for the owner thereof is coarse and strong food, for his stomach is like a strong fire which can consume great logs of wood. But if the stomach is cold and weak the most beneficial food for it is that which is light and easily digestible. For such a stomach is like a small, weak fire which must be fed at first with reeds and thin sticks.

Symptoms of good health are lightness of the body, cleanliness p. 68 of the bowels, and keenness of appetite. Signs of bad health are: limpness of the body, laziness, puffiness of the face, excessive saliva, heaviness of the eyes, sluggishness of the bowels, sourness, acidity, bitterness, wateriness, bad odour, rumbling and wind in the stomach, loss of appetite. When the disease causing the above symptoms increases and takes strength it brings on piles, yawning, shivering, &c., all of which corrupt the body and destroy the constitution. Therefore one ought to take precautions against them.

### THE SUPERIOR DEGREE OF COUNSEL.<sup>1</sup>

IT is necessary for thee, O Alexander, that when thou risest *Section k* from thy sleep thou shouldst take a short walk and stretch thy limbs moderately, and comb thy hair. For verily, the stretching of the limbs hardens the body, and walking<sup>2</sup> drives out the p. 69

<sup>1</sup> Discourse seven, on medicine *W*; Book XII *H*. Since this mortal species is subject to corruption through the opposition of compositions which occur in it, I have therefore decided to set down for thee in this chapter some of the strange secrets of leechcraft, which if thou wilt observe and adhere to them, for it is not necessary for a king to show all his maladies to the leech, thou shalt have no necessity for a leech save in those rare occurrences which no man may eschew. *W*.

<sup>2</sup> In other MSS. and *W*: Combing the hair.

vapours which rise to the head during sleep. Then bathe yourself—in summer with cold water, as it strengthens the body and keeps in the natural heat, and thus helps to increase appetite. Then put on clean garments and clothe thyself in goodly apparel, for the sense of sight<sup>1</sup> rejoices to look thereat and the spirit is strengthened by delighting therein. Then brush thy teeth with a tooth-stick made of bitter-astringent and acid wood and not of an unknown wood. For verily there are numerous advantages in brushing the teeth. It cleanses the teeth and the mouth, melts away the phlegm, frees the tongue and polishes it, creates appetite for food. Then take medicinal snuff, according to the season of the year. For there are great advantages in taking it : it opens the pores of the brain, thickens the neck and the upper arm, beautifies the complexion, strengthens the senses, and prevents the premature greyness of hair.

Then perfume thyself befitting the season : for verily the soul is nourished by smelling sweet scents and pleasant smells. And when the soul is nourished and strengthened the body is also strengthened, and the heart is cheered thereby, and the blood courses through the veins owing to the cheerfulness of the heart.

p. 70 Then put in thy mouth a seed of clove, and a piece of fresh aloes-wood or a piece of nutmeg because it drives out phlegm from the mouth, and removes diseases of the whole of the throat and the mouth.<sup>2</sup>

Then give an audience to the great men, converse with them and exchange courtesies and transact necessary business, either spiritual, temporal, or any other, according to thy wish, and let them not find in thy mouth any evil sayings.<sup>3</sup>

p. 71 And when thou feelest the desire of food at its accustomed time, first thou shouldst perform some physical exercise, as wrestling, hard walking, riding, weight-lifting, or the like.<sup>4</sup> For the advantage of this is to break up the wind, strengthen and

<sup>1</sup> your soul *IV.*

<sup>2</sup> And then take an electuary, four drachms of aloes and rhubarb, for the effect is to draw the phlegm from the mouth of the stomach and to expel it and cause digestion of the food, to kindle the natural heat ; it also reduces flatulency and cleanses the mouth *IV.*

<sup>3</sup> After which speak with thy nobles and discourse with them pleasantly, and judge every one according to his due *IV.*

<sup>4</sup> as riding and playing [polo?] *IV.*

lighten the body, kindle up the heat of the stomach, and rouse the soul.<sup>1</sup>

Then let there be placed before thee various kinds of eatables, and eat the kind on which thy choice falls and to which thy appetite is excited.<sup>2</sup> Then, if possible, do not exceed the bounds, and do not eat to repletion. That is the desire and aim. But if it is not possible for thee, then observe moderation, and eat at first what should be eaten at first, and last, what ought to be eaten last. As, for instance, when one wishes to take a soft and a binding diet at one and the same meal, he should take the soft first and the binding one afterwards, in order to make a free passage for the food after its digestion; but if the binding food is taken first and the soft one afterwards there is no free passage and both foods become corrupted.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly if he takes at one and the same meal food which is quickly digestible and food which is slow of digestion, he should take the food which is slow of digestion into the bottom of his stomach, because the bottom of the stomach is warmer and stronger in digesting on account of its being formed of a stronger p. 72 and warmer substance<sup>4</sup> and being situated closer to the liver, which is a cooking agent. The upper part of the stomach is sinewy, cold and weak in digesting, so that when food rises to the top of the stomach it is not digested speedily. Another point in eating is to withhold thy hand when there is still some of thy appetite left. Because eating to satiety straitens the soul<sup>5</sup> and causes the food to remain lying in the bottom of the stomach.

He should also restrain himself from drinking immediately after food habitually.<sup>6</sup> Because water taken soon after eating cools the stomach, extinguishes the heat of the appetite, and corrupts the food, and brings on indigestion, which is the worst of bodily afflictions and is named 'deferred poison'. But if it is found necessary to drink water, either on account of the hot

<sup>1</sup> strengthens the joints, melt away superfluities and phlegm, puts the food on the burning fire of the stomach *C.* sensitive soul *W.*

<sup>2</sup> and eat bread evenly raised, perfectly baked *IV.*

<sup>3</sup> wasted *W.*

<sup>4</sup> MS. *A*, corrupt, reads: on account of parts of the heat of the flesh mingled with it.

<sup>5</sup> shortens the breath *W.*

<sup>6</sup> until [refraining] becomes a habit *W.*

weather, or the heat of the stomach or of the food, then drink a little very cold water. Then, at the end of eating, drink a little wine mixed with about ten istars<sup>1</sup> of water.

p. 73 When he has finished eating he should walk a little on soft carpets,<sup>2</sup> then lie down on his left side and finish his sleep. Because the left side is cold and needs something to warm it. And if one feels heaviness in his lower ribs, he should wrap up his stomach with some heavy and warm cloth, or take in his arms a girl of warm body.

And if he feels sour belching, which is a sign of cold stomach, he should drink hot water with oxymel. Then he should vomit. Because it is very injurious to the body to keep back the corrupt food in the stomach.

And movement before food kindles up the fire of the stomach, but the same after food is bad, because it carries down the food before it is fully digested, and thus leads to stoppages and diseases.

p. 74 Sleep before food emaciates the body and dries up its moisture. But sleep after food is nourishing and strengthening. Because in sleep the outer part of the body becomes cool, and the natural heat which is diffused throughout the body is collected in the stomach and around it, and helps the stomach to digest the food. And the external part of the body is left free for its natural functions and the vital energy takes rest. Thus they [the wise] esteem the evening meal more than the mid-day meal, for the mid-day meal has to cope with the heat of the day and the pre-occupation of sense and soul with what the individual listens to, or engages in, or thinks about, and with the fatigue and movement around him. So that the natural heat is diffused over the exterior of the body and the stomach is thereby hindered from digesting the food. But the opposite of this is the case at the evening meal, for it is accompanied by rest of the body and stillness of senses and soul and the coolness of evening, which drives the natural heat into the interior of the body.

p. 75 Beware of taking nourishment a second time before thou hast become certain that the first meal is fully digested. Thou wilt know this by a feeling of appetite, and the collecting of saliva in

<sup>1</sup> An istar =  $6\frac{1}{2}$  drachms.

<sup>2</sup> and softly, and lie down and sleep for an hour on the right side and then turn on to the left *W.*

the mouth. Because whenever one eats food before the body requires it, the food meets with the natural heat in the state of the latter's quiescence, as fire is quiescent under ashes. But when a man takes food in a state of true appetite and need for it, it meets with a strong natural heat like a fire which is kindled up.<sup>1</sup> And as soon as thou feelest hunger thou shouldst hasten p. 76 to take thy meal, for, if thou delayest, the stomach will consume the superfluous matter of the body, will collect foul humours and cause noxious vapours to rise to the brain. And if food is taken after that, it gets spoilt and does not do any good to the body.

And if any one who is in the habit of eating twice a day p. 75 changes that habit and begins to eat once only it does him great harm. Just as if one who is in the habit of eating once a day begins to eat twice, his food does not agree with him. Likewise if one changes the usual time of his meals he soon finds the evil of doing so.

Habit is second nature. Therefore if through some cause it is found necessary to change a habit, it is imperative that it should be changed little by little, one degree at a time.

And it is also necessary for us to mention in this chapter, the p. 76 four seasons and the changes of the weather. The first of the four is

#### THE SPRING SEASON.

When the sun enters the first degree of Aries it is the beginning of the spring season. Its duration, according to the opinion of authorities on the subject, is 93 days, 23 hours and  $\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>2</sup> of an hour. It begins on the 21st of Azar (March) and ends on the 23rd of Haziran (June). The beginning of spring is called the vernal equinox, because the days and nights become equal in all climes. Weather becomes temperate and the air balmy. Breezes blow, snows are melted, streams flow, rivers become full, wells gush forth. Moisture rises to the branches of trees, vegetation grows up; corn, grasses, and herbs grow up. Trees bear leaves and blossoms. Flower buds open up and the earth becomes green. Living things come into being, beasts of the field multiply, udders flow with milk, animals disperse over

<sup>1</sup> will hurt him by extinguishing the natural heat, whereas if a man eats when he is hungry he will find the natural heat as burning fire *W.*

<sup>2</sup> C:  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

the country from their nests. The life of the dwellers in the deserts becomes pleasant. The earth is bedecked and ornamented, and the world becomes like a young girl adorned and resplendent before the onlookers.

p. 77 This season is warm, moist and temperate, and resembles in its nature air, and stirs the blood. In this season it is useful to take moderate food, as chickens, partridges, and pheasants, half-cooked eggs,<sup>1</sup> lettuce, endive, and goats' milk. No other time than this is better for bleeding and cupping. And it is allowable to commit excess in this season in cohabitation, use of purgatives, and baths and bringing on perspiration.<sup>2</sup> Any error in medical treatment, purging, or bleeding, which may take place at this time the season safeguards it and sets it right, if God Almighty pleases.

#### THE SUMMER SEASON.

When the sun enters the first degree of Cancer it is the beginning of the summer season. It lasts for 92 days and  $23\frac{1}{3}$  hours. It begins on the 23rd of June (Haziran) and ends on the 24th of September (Ailul). At this time the length of the day and the shortness of the night reach the limit in all climes. Thenceforth the day begins to grow shorter and night longer, heat becomes equal, the air becomes warm, hot winds blow, water decreases, vegetation dries up, the strength of bodies increases, and the earth becomes like a bride laden with riches and having many lovers.

p. 78 This season is hot and dry, and spleen predominates in it.<sup>3</sup> Therefore one ought to avoid all hot things, whether food, drink, or medicine.<sup>4</sup> And one ought to beware of over-eating, that the heat of the stomach may not be quenched. One should eat all kinds of cold food, such as veal cooked with vinegar, gourds,<sup>5</sup> fat chickens, and fine flour,<sup>6</sup> and of fruits, sour apples, plums,<sup>7</sup> and sour pomegranates. And the scents and oils used of a cold nature. Iced water should be drunk. Extreme moderation should be observed in cohabitation. Bleeding and cupping should be avoided. But the bath may be used. It is good

<sup>1</sup> new-laid eggs.

<sup>2</sup> and purging medicine *W.*

<sup>3</sup> and it stirs up the red gall *W.*

<sup>4</sup> and spices *W.*

<sup>5</sup> cucumbers *W.*

<sup>6</sup> fattened on barley meal *W.*

<sup>7</sup> nuts *W.*

to vomit in this season, as the superfluous matter of the body increases in summer and rises to the top of the stomach. Purgatives and gargling should be avoided except when quite necessary.

#### THE AUTUMN SEASON.

When the sun passes into the first degree of Libra it is the beginning of autumn. It lasts for 88 days and  $17\frac{1}{2}$  hours, beginning on the 24th of September (Ailul) to the 22nd of December (Kanun 1).

At this time the nights and days become equal for the second p. 79 time, and thenceforth the night begins to grow longer than the day. Summer is at an end and autumn has come. The air is cool, north winds blow, the season changes, waters lessen, rivers dry up, and springs subside, vegetation is dried up, fruits are exhausted, men garner grain and fruit, and the earth loses its beauty. The insects die out, reptiles retire into their holes, birds and wild beasts disappear in quest of a warmer climate. Provisions are collected against winter. The weather changes, and the earth becomes like a mature matron who has passed the years of her youth.

This season is cold and dry, and suits such foods and drinks as are<sup>1</sup> warm, soft, and moist, as chickens, mutton,<sup>2</sup> sweet grapes, and well-matured wine. Such things as produce black bile<sup>3</sup> should be avoided. Motion and cohabitation and gargling may p. 80 be indulged in in this season more freely than in summer, but less than in winter and spring. The frequent use of the bath is recommended.<sup>4</sup> If one feels the necessity of vomiting one should do so either in the middle of the day or at its end, as superfluous matters of the body collect at these times.

As purgatives he should take Garikun (Agaricum) and Aftimum (dodder of thyme) and anything that drives out choler and softens the humours, by the help of Almighty God.

#### THE WINTER SEASON.

When the sun enters the first degree of Capricorn it is the beginning of winter. It lasts for 89 days and  $14\frac{1}{2}$  hours, from the 22nd of December (Kanun 1) to the 21st of March (Azar).

<sup>1</sup> and it stirs up the black gall. Abstain from eating or drinking anything cold and dry, eat and drink only what is *W.*

<sup>2</sup> lamb *W.* <sup>3</sup> melancholy *W.*

<sup>4</sup> and take purgings if need be *W.*

At this time the length of night and the shortness of day reach to their extremes once again, and the day begins to grow longer than the night. Autumn is finished, winter has arrived. Cold is intense, bitter winds blow, the leaves of the trees fall, most of the vegetation dies, and most of the animals take refuge in the belly of the earth and in mountain caves from the severe cold and the frequent storms and rain. The heavens grow dark and the face of the earth frowns. The animals grow thin, bodies grow weaker, and the world becomes like a decrepit old woman to whom death draws near.

This season is cold and moist, and phlegm predominates in it. Therefore, in the matter of nourishment and medicine, it is necessary to seek after warm things,<sup>1</sup> such as young pigeons,

(Not in A) flesh of a young goat not more than one year old,<sup>2</sup> roast meat,

p. 81 hot spices, figs, walnuts, garlic, thick red wine, hot electuaries

(Not in A) and sweetened compounds. Hot clysters may be used. Purgatives, bleeding, and cupping should be avoided, except in case of necessity. Then the air should be changed and heated, and first of all hot drinks should be taken and the body rubbed with warm oils, and one should enter a temperate bath. In this season even excess in exertion, cohabitation, and eating does not do much harm.<sup>3</sup> Because the natural heat withdraws itself into the lower part of the body and the digestive power increases. Stomachs remain cold in spring and summer because then, the natural heat being feeble, the digestive power decreases in those seasons and the humours are active.

*Section m* The following is the chapter of the Parts of the Body. Know  
p. 83 that the body has four parts.

#### First, the Head.

When superfluous humours collect in it, the symptoms of this are: darkness in the eyes, heaviness of the eyelids, throbbing of the temples, sounds in the ears, and stuffiness of the nostrils.

p. 84 Therefore whosoever feels those symptoms should take some Afsintin (wormwood) and boil it in sweet wine with roots of Sa'atar (marjoram) until half of the water is evaporated. Then he should rinse his mouth with it every morning until relief comes. He should also eat with his food two drachms of prepared

<sup>1</sup> and spices IV.

<sup>2</sup> and young lambs IV.

<sup>3</sup> C adds: because stomachs are warm in winter and spring, and sleep is longer in these seasons, for the nights are long.

mustard, and some dust of Iyārij (an aperient) which contains 12 'ukar (medicinal plants) when he goes to sleep.

Because if he disregard those symptoms, he may be attacked by deadly diseases like the corruption of sight, swellings, pain in the throat, and headaches.

### Second, the Chest.

When superfluous humours are collected in the chest, the signs of this are: heaviness of the tongue, acidity of the mouth, sourness of food on the top of the stomach, pains in the temples<sup>1</sup> and coughing. So one must lessen one's food, and vomit. After vomiting one should take bitter water of roses with aloes and mastic. After food one should take a walnut-sized<sup>2</sup> piece of the electuary 'al-anisun al Kabi' (aniseed) made with aloes and galangale. Whoever disregards this will suffer pleurisy, pains in p. 84 end. the kidneys, and fever.

### Third, the Stomach.

p. 86 note

When superfluous humours are gathered in the stomach the signs of this are windiness, pains in the knee joints, shivering, feverishness, and winds.

Therefore whoso feels these symptoms should use a purgative of some soft aperient medicine and should follow the treatment we have prescribed for the chest.

Because if one disregard them one may be afflicted with pain in the hips and the back and joints, disordered stomach, bad digestion, and stoppage of the liver.

### Fourth, the Bladder.

p. 87

When the superfluous humours are collected in it the signs are: loss of appetite, eruptions, and pimples on the testicles and the privy parts. Therefore he who suffers this ought to take celery and fennel and their roots, and soak them in white sweet-smelling wine, and should partake of it every morning mixed with water and honey before breaking his fast. He should abstain from over-eating. For, whosoever disregards these symptoms will be afflicted with the pain of the bladder and liver, and stopping of the urine and the anus.

<sup>1</sup> *B*: upper arm (or side).

<sup>2</sup> By 'walnut-size' the physicians mean 4 mithkal (1 mithkal = 1½ drachms).

*Section n* It is written in an ancient book that a certain king called together the physicians of Rūm, India, and Persia, and ordered them to name some medicine whose habitual use would be beneficial and curative for all sorts of complaints. What the Rūmi chose and advised was the drinking of draughts of hot water every morning. The Persian sage advised ‘Al-Harfā’, that is, cress. And the Indian advised Indian Myrobalan.<sup>1</sup> And I say to thee, O Alexander, whoever finds himself at night without a weight of food on the stomach need not fear apoplexy and pain in the joints. And whoever eats every morning seven mithkals of sweet currants, need not fear any of the phlegmatic diseases, his memory will be strengthened and his intellect sharpened.

And he who eats in winter some sweet Hiltītah (Assafetida) free from bad smell, he shall be safe from intermittent fever, and winds in the side.

p. 88 And whosoever eats two walnuts with three seeds or grains of figs and some leaves of the herb rue, he shall be safe for that day from poison.

O Alexander, preserve, and take care<sup>2</sup> of thy natural heat. Because as long as there is temperate heat and moderate moisture in man, the heat feeds upon the moisture, and verily that heat p. 89 is the principle of life and health. Man becomes old and his body grows weak from two causes : firstly, from<sup>3</sup> natural decay which is unavoidable, and is brought on by the predominance of dryness in the body and corruption of the being<sup>3</sup>. And, secondly, accidental decay, which is brought on by accidents, diseases, or evil treatment.

### Diet.

*Section o* Know that foods are of three kinds : light, heavy, and moderate. Light food creates pure, healthy blood. Such foods are : flour, fat chickens, and eggs. Heavy food is useful for people of hot temperaments and those who have to perform hard labour before and after food. Moderate food does not create obstructions or dangerous superfluous humours or chyme. Such foods are : fine wheaten bread, kids, sheep one year old, and in short, all meats that are hot and moist. But they differ from each other

<sup>1</sup> C reads : Black Myrobalans. B omits the whole passage.

<sup>2</sup> of this glorious temple and IV inserts. <sup>3</sup> contraction IV.

according to the manner of their cooking. Roasted meat derives strength, heat, and dryness from the fire, unless it is treated with something which will break up its heat, as vinegar, lemon, tamarind, and cherries.

Similarly fried meats must be treated with spices. Therefore follow this analogy and oppose hot with cold and vice versa (i. e. in seasoning food), except in the case when you desire hot food to counteract a cold temperament or to excite carnal appetite.<sup>1</sup>

Some flesh soon changes into black bile, as the flesh of the cow, p. 90 the camel, the mountain goat, the Kata (sand grouse), and the fat goat, because they are heavy (or coarse) and dry by nature. But the flesh of young castrated animals which feed on moist green pasture and frequent the shade is the most tender and beneficial.

The same may be said about fish. Those which have a small body and thin skin, which feed sparingly and live in sweet and flowing waters, are lighter and better than those which live in the salt sea and in lakes. Large fish with large body and much fat ought to be avoided, as poison is to be expected therefrom. And I have prepared a book on the subject of diet and medicine for the use of the great and the common alike. It may be consulted for further information.

#### Waters.

Water is necessary for every living being and vegetable. And I have already informed thee that all waters, sweet and bitter, from sea or lakes differ according to district and the [nature] of the earth and the rising of the sun and moon, and I have explained the cause thereof more than once. The best and the lightest water is that which is distant from buildings and is obtained from springs. When the land is flat and bare and contains little putridity, its water is good and light; but the water found in wooded and tainted country is heavy and injurious. One should avoid water in which is green slime or worms. The best water is that which is light, colourless, pure, and of good odour, which soon becomes hot or cold, and which pleases nature, and that which flows from the west to the east.

<sup>1</sup> The next two lines of *A* are obscure: There is no harm in using this and also the foods which are cooked along with the flesh; and a man of experience and intelligence need have no fear of taking them.

p. 91 Salt, turbid, and noxious waters dry up the stomach and sometimes bring on diarrhoea. The water of melted snow and ice is also bad and heavy. Similarly water situated in barren lands and marshes is noxious and heavy, because it remains stationary, and the sun always shines on it. Such waters create bilious humours, enlarge the spleen and the liver. Similarly with water which springs from hot and noisome lands, because it contains particles of those lands. Drinking cold water before food emaciates the body and quenches the fire of the stomach. Drinking it after food heats the body and increases phlegm, and if taken in excess it corrupts the food. Cold water should be drunk in summer and hot water in winter, for hot water in summer destroys the stomach, just as cold water in winter extinguishes the heat and corrupts the organs of the chest and liver (B). Tepid water drunk in winter extinguishes the heat and corrupts the organs of the chest and liver and often kills suddenly, the reason whereof would take long to explain (A).

### Wine.

Wine made from mountain grapes is drier than that of grapes growing on level and well-watered lands. The former is useful for aged people and those possessing moist and phlegmatic temperaments, and is hurtful to young people, and those having warm temperaments, and thin people. Wine made from grapes growing on well-watered plains is good for young people, and those having hot temperaments. Wine, as it grows older, increases in heat and softness and is useful for removing cold and thick humours. And the more it increases in redness of colour and in thickness the more it acquires blood-creating powers. And the more bitter, strong, and sour it is, the less blood-creating and nutritive qualities it possesses, and it resembles medicine more than food. And habitual use of wine is highly injurious to every sort of men. And sweet wine corrupts and p. 92 destroys the stomach and produces rumbling and winds and obstacles.

And the best and the most wholesome wine for all temperaments is that which comes from lands midway between mountain and plain, and between the moist and the dry, whose grapes are sweet and well ripened, and not so much pressed as to give out the juice of the skin and stones, and the acidity of the tendrils:

wine which is of a golden colour, between red and yellow, the dregs of which are settled down, and the particles clear. Such wine as possesses these qualities do thou partake of moderately, according to the time of the year and the constitution, for it washes the mouth of the stomach, strengthens natural heat, helps digestion, prevents the food from getting corrupted, and brings it into motion, cooks it, and conveys its purity to the various organs and cooks it in them, until it becomes essential blood. Then from it there rise to the brain temperate and moist vapours, so that harmful diseases are removed from the brain. And, together with all this it cheers the heart, beautifies the complexion, frees the tongue, emboldens the timid, impels to all which is robust and joyful, and inspires to every noble virtue and praiseworthy quality.

But excess of it, and lack of moderation and habitual drinking to such an extent as to subvert reason and take away sensation, destroys the brain, weakens the vital energy, corrupts the intelligence, causes lapse of memory, and weakens the five senses which are the main support of the body ; it destroys the appetite for food, weakens the sinews which support the body, and produces tremors, weakness of sight, and paralysis ; it excites the heat of the liver, and thickens its blood, and blackens the blood of the heart, from which arise melancholy, quivering, fear, and p. 93 imbecility ; it spoils the complexion, weakens the bladder, and relaxes the muscles surrounding it, and the muscles of the stomach ; it corrupts the temperament, makes coarse the epidermis, and brings on elephantiasis.

It is a kind of poison, therefore never take it to excess. It is like rhubarb, which is the life of the liver and possesses many virtues, as is mentioned in the registers, and yet it is the most deadly poison for one who does not know the right quantity to be used. But just as serpent's poison is the supreme antidote [to snake-bites], so in wine there is a cure for many severe pains and troublesome ailments.

And never incline to drink sweetened vinegar on an empty stomach, especially when thou feelest a preponderance of moisture and phlegm in thyself.

To Homer is attributed a wonderful saying concerning the drinking of wine ; he says that it is strange that a man who drinks grape wine and eats wheat bread and mutton, and never commits

excess in eating, drinking, cohabitation, and phys cal exertion, should ever fall ill or die, or become old.

And for one who happens to have indulged excessively in drinking it is advisable to bathe with warm water, then he should go to a running stream, and sit down under an awning of willow and myrtle on the bank of the stream or clear lake. Then he should sprinkle rose-water<sup>1</sup> on that awning, and rub on his body p. 94 pounded sandal-wood. Then he should be fanned with fans made of cooling branches. This will cure him of the effects of excessive drinking.

Likewise he who intends to give up drinking wine should not discontinue it quite suddenly, but should lessen it gradually, and change it for currant wine, always mixing it with an increasing quantity of water, until his drink becomes pure water ; and in this he ought to persevere. By such treatment the constitution will be safe from dreaded ailments, by the power of Almighty God.

*Section p*

O Alexander, of the things I haye mentioned there are some which strengthen the body and others which weaken it ; some fatten it and others make it thin ; some moisten it and the others dry it ; some invigorate and cheer it, others cause languor and lassitude.

Of those things that strengthen the body are : fine wholesome food, and light agreeable substances, taken in their proper season and when the need arises, as before mentioned (if God will).

And of those that fatten and moisten the body are : ease and comfort, sweet perfumes, eating Asfedbajat<sup>2</sup> and heat-producing sweet and fresh foods, and drinking<sup>3</sup> sweet syrups (wines), and fresh honey with walnuts, in times of coolness without committing excess in any of them ; sleeping after food on soft beds, in cool places in summer and warm ones in winter ; bathing in warm and p. 95 sweet water, without staying too long in the bath, for that lessens the moisture of the body ; smelling sweet-scented plants according to the time of the year, e.g. jessamine in winter, roses and violets in summer ; using an emetic three times<sup>4</sup> in a month, especially in summer, for vomiting cleanses the stomach and frees it from injurious matter and corrupting moisture, which being expelled,

<sup>1</sup> and the water of myrtle *A*.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of dish made of meat, onions, butter, and cheese, &c., and milk and bread. *Hebrew Aspidbag. Asfanakh W.*

<sup>3</sup> of warm milk and *W*.

<sup>4</sup> once *IV.*

natural heat becomes more powerful to digest food, so that the body becomes fresh and full. In this course a man will derive assistance and increased benefit from joy, wealth, honour, victory over enemies, realization of hopes, amusements, seeing beautiful faces, reading interesting books, listening to pleasant songs, the joking of friends, the stories told by agreeable companions, listening to interesting discourses and amusing tales, wearing coloured garments of silk and linen, habitual use of tooth-brushes, and scented oils according to the time of the year. All these things are especially befitting for kings, because they are easily procurable by them.

As for the things that emaciate and dry up the body, they are the contrary to all those mentioned above, namely, insufficient eating and drinking, excess in exertion, movement in the sun and heat, long sleeplessness, sleeping with an empty stomach on hard beds (for heat counteracts the moisture of the body and dries it up); bathing in sulphurous or salt water, or cold water in winter; eating pungent and fried<sup>1</sup> foods in summer, and drinking old unmixed wines. Likewise excess in purgations, bleedings, and cohabitation. And anxiety, poverty, and fear.<sup>2</sup>

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(Those things that fatten and cheer and add flesh to the body are: moderation in cohabitation; eating wheat bread, and the flesh of fat chickens. Vomiting every morning with sweetened vinegar, in summer; riding on easy-paced cattle and drinking out of new and sweet-smelling vessels. And those that emaciate and weaken the body are: excessive anxiety and sorrow, wakefulness, occupation of the mind, excessive love, sleeping on the ground, sleeping with old women, and looking at disagreeable and unavoidable sights. But the worst of all are evil thoughts and pursuing anxieties.)<sup>3</sup>

### The Bath.

O Alexander, the bath is one of the most wonderful things *Section 4* of the world, and one of the most peculiar things which the wise have invented and prescribed for comforting and cleaning the body, relaxing the limbs, opening the pores of the body, dispelling

<sup>1</sup> pickled *IV.*

<sup>2</sup> All these produce leanness of body. So act thus and avoid it. If God will. *W.*

<sup>3</sup> This section occurs only in *A.*

vapours and superfluities of the body, cleaning the skin from the remains of sicknesses and pains. And this is because it is built according to the four seasons of the year. The cold part of it stands for winter, the one next to it for autumn, the one next to that for spring, and the one next to that for summer. The right method of using the bath is for the bather to stay for a while in the first apartment, then pass on into the second apartment and wait there for a while, then enter into the third and fourth and so on. And so also he should do when he comes out; he should remain in each apartment for a space, and not plunge from intense heat to intense cold or from intense cold to its opposite. This bath should be built on a raised ground, and should be airy and should have fresh water.

There should be various censers in it in which incense suiting the time of the year should be kept burning, i.e. in spring and summer nadd (ambergris) of treble or quadruple mixtures, and in autumn and winter nadd of two mixtures and fresh aloes-wood. Then he should sit down on a soft cushioned seat, and should remain seated there until his body perspires freely. Then he should rub and wipe his body from time to time, with a clean linen towel. And when that is done sufficiently he should remove to the bathing place and enter into it.

p. 97 And when the heat gets too strong he should apply to his body one of the cleaning and purifying soaps according to the time of the year. As, for instance, in spring and summer cleaning soap made with sandal-wood and myrobalans, and in autumn and winter a soap made of myrrh and the juice of beet. Then he should pour over his head tepid water. Then he should submerge his whole body until all the dirt and filth is removed from it. Then he should anoint himself with some oil befitting the time of the year, and clean some of it off with some washing earth or any kind of suitable paste. Then he should enter the other tank next to the first by two degrees and should emerge gradually, as we have directed before. Then he should sit down in the next compartment until his body be dried with towels perfumed with rose water and ambergris. In summer he should wipe his body with soft linen towels, and in winter with those of cotton and silk.

f. 23 a B If he feels thirsty he should drink about half a ratl<sup>1</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Ratl is a pound of 12 ounces.

wine of roses and apples mixed with cold water. Then he should stretch himself a little while looking at some beautiful picture, well fashioned, or, if possible, at some beautiful human being, which is better still. Then he should apply sweet scents to his face and clothes.<sup>1</sup> After this he should take his meal, and drink the usual amount of mixed wine, but not so much as to cause inebriety. Then he should smell sweet scents according to the time of the year. Then he should go to a soft bed and invoke sleep. But he should avoid cohabitation that day and night lest this should undo all that we have spoken of, which is most beneficial for health, strengthening to the body, restoring power, and preserving fitness. Then he should obtain restful sleep and pass the remainder of the day in comfort and peace. This prescription will give the body an excellent development.

If he happens to be an old man and coldness preponderates in his system, he should stay a shorter time in the bath, but if he happens to be young, and heat and dryness preponderates in his temperament, he should stay there only as long as his body gets wet and receives the moisture of the bath.<sup>2</sup>

And if he happens to be middle aged he should observe a middle course between the two, and use temperate water for washing his body.

This is, O Alexander, what will make thee independent of every physician if thou dost understand its meanings and find out its virtues. The strength or weakness, seriousness or triviality of diseases and their developments are caused by their crises and the influences of the moon, on whose strength or weakness depends the strength and weakness of the disease. And in the pulse there is a powerful indication of the state of health. And no one can learn this art except by learning and practising the feeling of the pulse. And I have noted down its theories in another book. In urine there is another proof of the state of health, an account of it will be found in my book on that subject.

<sup>1</sup> *B* omits.

<sup>2</sup> *C* adds: And he should pour plenty of tepid water on his body. And it is desirable for a man of phlegmatic temperament not to take a bath except on an empty stomach, and he should dip himself in water in which sweet marjoram, Shih (the wormwood of Pontus) Gar (laurel) and Kaisum (sothernwood) are infused. And he should anoint himself with warm oils. But he whose temperament is warm should follow our foregoing directions. God willing.

Therefore look for it there, as thou shouldest consult my book on compound medicines, and drinks, oils and ointments, according to the Schools of Rome, India, Persia, and Greece, and what I have found out from my own experience and my knowledge : there is no need to repeat them here. But since I have decided to reveal to thee every secret that I know, I will not hide from thee this medicine which is known as the 'guard', and it is the 'mysterious treasure of the sages'. I do not know who discovered it at first. Some say it was revealed to Adam.

There is another party which thinks that Ascalanus, Nasiurus, Ailin, Dunntanas, Kutarus discovered it,<sup>1</sup> and the philosophers of the eight Great Sages, who fathomed the hidden sciences of the secrets of nature and metaphysics, of the void and full, and the extremes. And they had agreed together on the composition of this Great Medicine. And they divided it into eight parts.

And another party believed that Akhnukh had used it by revelation, and Hermes the Great, whom the Persians had named Ahjad, and to whom is ascribed every secret wisdom and celestial science.

#### Description of the Honey in which the Medicines are prepared.

Take (with the help of God) 25 ratls of the juice of sweet pomegranates and 10 ratls of the juice of sour pomegranates, 10 ratls of the juice of sour apples and one kust<sup>2</sup> of pure rubb (syrup) of sweet grapes<sup>3</sup> and 10 ratls of sugar-candy. Put all the above in a clean stone kettle, and cook on a gentle steady fire without smoke, and keep removing the froth from time to time. Boil it thus until the mixture turns into the form of honey. It is the medicated honey which shall be used in the medicines I shall mention (if God will).

#### The First Medicine.

Take one ratl of dry red roses and  $\frac{3}{4}$  ratl of violets. Soak them in 10 ratls of fresh water after mixing with it  $\frac{1}{2}$  ratl of the

<sup>1</sup> Asflanus, Nasyoras, the middle Hermes, Bärtomali, Dadastius, Ablac, Robaris, and Fataria *D.*

<sup>2</sup> *A* : kust =  $\frac{1}{2}$  sa'a, or a little less than 10 ratls.

<sup>3</sup> *C* adds : 10 ratls of the juice of sweet apples.

water of parsley (or Bahn-gentle),<sup>1</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$  ratl of sweet marjoram, and p. 100 1 ratl of the water of ox-tongue. Having mixed all these add to them 2 ounces of myrobalans, and 1 ounce of cloves. Leave the whole mixture for one day and night so that its power comes out.

Then boil it on a gentle fire until one-third<sup>2</sup> of its water evaporates. Then take it down from the fire, and mark and clean it. Then add to it 3 ratls of the above-mentioned honey. Then thicken it until it becomes hard and leaven it with  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dirhams of musk, 1 dirham of ambergris, and three dirhams of powdered fresh aloes. This is the first medicine, one of the eight medicines which shall be mentioned.

Its property is to strengthen the stomach, the heart, and the brain, God willing.

### The Second Medicine.

Take one ratl of Kabul myrobalan peeled from its stone,  $\frac{1}{4}$  ratl of the kernel of Khiyar Shanbar (Cassia fistula), 2 ounces of the root of liquorice, peeled and of moderate thickness, and 2 ounces of the seeds of myrtle<sup>3</sup> in a ripe state. Pound what is necessary and soak the mixture in 10 ratls of fresh water and leave it for a day and night. Then boil it gently until half of its water evaporates. Then rub with the hand, drain, and add to it 2 ratls of the medicated honey. Stiffen the mixture until it becomes thick. Then add to it 1 ounce of powdered gum mastic and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ounce of Tabashir<sup>4</sup> and bottle up immediately. This is the second medicine.

Its property is to strengthen the stomach, to wring and cleanse it of all putrid matter without causing any natural pain, and it strengthens the nerves, the chest, and the brain.

### The Third Medicine.

p. 101

Take one ratl and a half of myrobalan and half a ratl of Indian myrobalan, and 1 ounce [each] of cinnamon, the herb galangale, and nutmeg.<sup>5</sup> Break them all into pieces, and soak them in

<sup>1</sup> C has 'Turanjan' which means the same. A has 'Raihan' which means odoriferous herbs, but seems a mistake of the writer.

<sup>2</sup> A reads: two thirds.

<sup>3</sup> 'Hubbulas'. Not in C.

<sup>4</sup> 'Tabashir' is a substance of silicious nature produced from the bamboo, and used in medicines.

<sup>5</sup> The last not mentioned in A.

10 ratls of fresh water, and leave them thus for a day and a night.

Then boil on a gentle fire until half of its water is evaporated. Then rub with the hand and drain. Then add to it 3 ratls of the above-mentioned honey and boil again until the compound becomes like rubb or honey. Then bottle it up. This is the third medicine, and its property is to strengthen the inner organs, especially the vital ones.

#### The Fourth Medicine.<sup>1</sup>

Take 2 ratls of the juice of the fresh and cleaned Ansaj,<sup>2</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  ratl of the juice of Karafs (celery), and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ratl of fresh Zūfā (hyssop) and Mukhayyaṭ (sebestens).<sup>3</sup> Add them together, and leave them for a day and a night. Then drain and add 2 or 3 ratls if possible of the medicated honey. Then boil on a gentle fire until it thickens. This is the fourth medicine, and its property is to break up obstacles, and to benefit the organs of the chest and the lungs, God willing.

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#### The Fifth Medicine.

Take  $\frac{1}{2}$  ratl of fresh Ustukhudus (French lavender) and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ratl of Barbāris (barberries), and 3 ounces of Fikāh aladkhar,<sup>4</sup> soak them in 12 ratls of fresh water, and add to them 3 ounces of Anīsūn (aniseed). Leave them thus for a day and a night. Then boil until one half of the water is evaporated. Add 4 ratls of medicated honey and boil till it thickens and bottle up. This is the fifth medicine; its property is to drive out gently spleen and phlegm, to cure melancholia, restore the stomach to its proper order, to break up internal obstacles, and to break up winds.

#### The Sixth Medicine.

Take  $\frac{1}{2}$  ratl of the juice of Bazarkatūnā (fleawort),  $\frac{1}{2}$  ratl of the juice of the seeds of quince, 2 ounces of al-katīra (gum tragacanth), and 3 ounces of gum arabic. Dissolve the gums in rose water, and add 3 ratls of the medicated honey. Boil well on the fire and bottle up.

<sup>1</sup> As in D.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of bramble (lycium).

<sup>3</sup> C reads: 'Ulayyak' (dodder) and 'Maus Sus' (liquorice) instead of the last two.

<sup>4</sup> 'Fukkahul Izkhar' is camomile or orris root.

This is the sixth medicine, and its property is to soften the chest, cure asthma,<sup>1</sup> restore all the breathing organs to their proper condition, allay feverish heat, and feed<sup>2</sup> the bowels (God willing).

#### The Seventh Medicine.

Take one ounce of Spikenard, 3 ounces [each] of cinnamon, kurfa (a kind of cinnamon), and cubeb, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce each of round and long rhubarb. Soak them in 5 ratls of sweet water. Leave them until their strength comes out. Then rub with the hand, and drain. Add to it 3 ratls of pure medicated honey, and p. 103 boil on a gentle fire until it thickens. This is the seventh medicine. Its property is to heat the stomach and to drive out wind from the belly (if God permit).

#### The Eighth Medicine.

Take 3 ounces of hard China rhubarb, and 1 ounce of Darwanj Sini (Doronicum of China), [ $1\frac{1}{2}$  ounce of the three kinds of sandal wood *C only*] and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ounce of purified Lak.<sup>3</sup> Break them all into pieces, and pour over them 10 ratls of sweet water. Let them soak in it until their strength comes out. Then press them through with the hand, drain, and add 3 ratls of pure medicated honey. Boil slowly on a gentle fire till the mixture thickens. This is the eighth medicine, and its property is to restore the liver and the heart and to strengthen the inner organs.

Finally when all the above-mentioned eight medicines are prepared, add to them one-fourth of their collected weight of fresh tamarind whose stones have been removed, and which has been previously dissolved in water as mentioned before. Then put the eight medicines with the dissolved tamarind in a large stone kettle, and pour over them 6 ratls of sweet smelling rose-water. Boil the compound gently until it thickens. Then take it down from the fire and let it cool. Then take 1 ounce of the oil of balsam, 3 drachms of ambergris, 4 drachms of fragrant musk, and add them to the compound. Then add  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. of powdered pearls, 6 drachms of powdered rubies,<sup>4</sup> red, blue, and p. 104 yellow (2 drachms of each), 3 drachms of powdered emerald, 8 drachms of powdered gold. Then put the whole mixture in

<sup>1</sup> 'Bashma' indigestion *A.*

<sup>3</sup> A kind of plant used in dyeing.

<sup>2</sup> To clean the bowels *A.*

<sup>4</sup> Or jacynth, or chrysolite.

a porcelain pot, or better still, in a golden vessel, previously scented with the incense of aloes. Then place the vessel under the sky for a week so that the heavenly powers may affect it with their influence. But do not expose the compound to the heavens on the night when the moon is inauspicious, or free from its journey, or 'under the rays'.

When all these directions have been carried out thou shalt obtain one of the greatest treasures of the world, and the most precious possessions of kings. Then take of it one mithkāl every day after food, and two mithkāls on an empty stomach, for it is the extreme of all extremes. A few uses of this great and precious medicine are the removal of phlegm, bile, and spleen, heating the kidneys, removal of piles, and driving away of wind, digestion of food, moderation of temperament, clearing<sup>o</sup> the complexion, softening the chyme, allaying headache, clearing the eye-sight, purifying the colour and the smell of the body, strengthening the teeth, stopping greyness of the hair, opening the pores and outlets of the body. It removes all pains, external or internal, drives out wind, prevents foulness of breath, exhilarates the motions of the bowels and the bladder, removes cough, strengthens the muscles, purifies the blood, heats the food, and helps digestion. It also removes the palpitation of the heart from whatever cause it may be, stimulates and cheers the heart, produces happiness and many other benefits too numerous to relate. One of its peculiar virtues is to create intelligence, that is the brain, to engender sagacity, to sharpen genius and improve the power of thought. I do not

P. 105 know of any medicine prepared by philosophers excelling this one in preserving health and strength, and benefiting bodies and souls.

*Section t*  
p. 108 O Alexander, neither take medicine, nor open a vein except at the time chosen by astrology. For verily, the benefit of therapeutics is considerably augmented thereby.

As to the time for bleeding and cupping, never do any of these till the moon is full, and till it approaches the sun by 13 degrees: and beware of the moon being in Sagittarius, and it rising, or in Aquarius, or in Capricorn, or in Gemini. Also beware of letting blood when the sun and the moon are looking at one another from the fourth house, or when they are directly opposite to one another, or in the one and the same sign, or when the moon is in one of the watery signs.

Also avoid bleeding when Mars or Saturn is in the house of nativity, or facing the moon. The best time for letting blood is the latter half of the lunar month, when its light is decreasing, and when it is either in Libra or Scorpio, and when inauspicious p. 109 stars are not looking at it. And the worst time for that purpose is when the moon is inauspicious in its second or eighth house.

As for cupping, its best time is when the moon is rising and increasing in its light, and when none of the inauspicious stars are overlooking it, especially Mars, when the moon is in the house of Venus, or when Venus or Jupiter are overlooking it. But when the moon is the lord of that part of the body [where cupping is desired], it must not be attempted.

#### Times of taking Medicines.

When thou wishest to take medicine, let the moon be in one of the southern signs, except Capricorn, and let it be close to Venus or Jupiter. Better still if it is in Scorpio or Pisces or in Libra, or in the northern signs. Beware of taking medicine when the moon is with Saturn, because it will keep the medicine in the stomach. But the farther the moon is from Saturn the better it is. But there is no harm in the conjunction of the moon with p. 110 Mars, though it lessens the effect of the medicine. Let the pivot of thy action rest with the well-being of the moon, its absence from the inauspicious stars and its proximity to the auspicious ones.

And now that I have finished describing physical remedies, *Section u* I am going to mention spiritual ones. Know that mental diseases are also amenable to treatment. But their treatment is carried out by means of musical instruments which convey to the soul, through the sense of hearing, the harmonious sounds which are created by the motions and contacts of the heavenly spheres in their natural motion, which affect the right perceptions.

And when those harmonies are interpreted in human language they gave rise to music which is pleasing to the human soul, because the harmony of the heavenly spheres is represented in man by the harmony of his own elements, which is the principle of life. Hence, when the harmony of earthly music is perfect or, in other words, approaches the nearest to the harmony of the

spheres, the human soul is stirred up and becomes joyful and strong.<sup>1</sup>

*Section v* And one of those things which thou must know, O Alexander,  
 p. 164 is this, that the soul acquires the power of finding out inner truths, by external signs, when it happens to be free from lust and pain. This power is known by thought. And when the soul predominates over the body and nothing intervenes between the spiritual substance which lies in the heart and the soul, and the animal part which lies in the brain, the intellect is freed from impurities and the object is reflected in it. Hence divination, which is mentioned in many books, and of the truth of which many wonderful instances are recorded. But this also depends upon the conjunction of stars happening at the time of the creation of this power.

Therefore the Science of Physiognomy is as much necessary for thee as those other sciences which rest upon conjecture. It is a great science, and the ancients knew it and practised it, and prided themselves upon possessing it. It is a true science, and I could bring proofs as to its being true were I not afraid of pro-  
 p. 165 longing the discourse. One of those ancients who excelled in this art and who professed its truthfulness is Aklimūn. He used

<sup>1</sup> C reads : O thou who art afflicted with mental diseases, thou must remedy them. And their remedy is carried out only by musical instruments which act through the sense of hearing. The harmonious sounds are caused by the striking together of the heavenly spheres and their circular motions. And the harmonious tunes of nature act upon the sources of health. Since the working of human nature accords with, and imitates, the working of universal nature, it is fitting for man to turn to his own nature and temperament. And when there occurs concord and mutual agreement between the two natures, human nature is aroused and its life substance comes into action and increases, and it expands and there flows into it the substance which stirs it to cheerfulness.

And it was for this reason that the Persians, when they desired to give their judgements, used to order that music should be played, and songs and poems sung bearing upon the question under their discussion. For by this means they believed that their judgements would yield to them and would conform to the right in their creed.

And this is, by thy life, one of their right experiences. And if it was not for the fear of prolonging this discourse and explaining at length what thou canst understand by the least sign, I would have elucidated this point further. And I have also mentioned it in the book which I have composed on music and various kinds of sciences. Verily it is one of the four sciences which are the pillars of the world. But we shall not discuss it here at length.

to tell the character of a man by the construction of his body. There is a wonderful story connected with him which I shall relate for thy consideration :

The disciples of the learned Hippocrates drew his picture on a parchment and, showing it to Aklīmūn, asked him to describe his character. He looked at the formation of the body and compared the various parts of it. Then he said : 'This man must be deceitful, cunning, and sensuous, and one who loves fornication.' Thereupon the disciples of Hippocrates wanted to kill him, and said : 'O ignorant fool, this is the picture of the learned Hippocrates !' He replied : 'You asked me to read his character from this picture, and I did so according to my art.'

When they went back to Hippocrates they informed him of what had happened. Hippocrates replied to them : 'Aklīmūn is right. By God ! in all his reading he has not spoken a single untruth. This is indeed my character, and such is my disposition. But when I saw that these qualities were bad, I restrained myself from following them, and my reason overcame my passions. And the philosopher who cannot subjugate his desires to his reason is no philosopher at all.' And this added to the excellence of Hippocrates, for philosophy is merely mastering desires.

### A Short Chapter on Physiognomy.<sup>1</sup>

*Section w  
p. 166*

O Alexander, I am writing for thee a brief description of Physiognomy which, on account of thy possessing such good sense and exalted soul, will suffice for thee instead of a longer description, God willing.<sup>2</sup>

Thou knowest that the womb is for the embryo like the pot for the food,<sup>3</sup> therefore the whiteness or blueness, or extreme redness [of the face] indicates imperfect coction, and if to them

<sup>1</sup> Discourse on Physiognomy *W.* Book XI *H.*

<sup>2</sup> O Alexander, since the science of physiognomy is one of the subtle and speculative and intellectual sciences which it is necessary for thee to know and to understand, because of the great need in which thou standest when appointing men to stand before thee, I will therefore put down for thee in this chapter all the tokens of physiognomy which are proved true and known in the days gone by, and which we have tested in sooth from olden times *W.*

<sup>3</sup> The temperaments differ according to the creature, and the natures differ according to their composition. A clear white complexion with a tinge of blue and much ruddiness betokens shamelessness, cunning, and small intelligence *W.*

p. 167 is added any imperfection of nature it is a strong proof of the body being imperfect as well. Therefore beware of such people, blue or very red and smooth,<sup>1</sup> for they must be shameless, perfidious, and sensuous.

O Alexander, if thou shouldst see a person who looks often at thee, and who, when thou lookest at him, turns red in the face, or is ashamed, or blushes,<sup>2</sup> or whose eyes fill with tears, be sure that such a person loves thee, and is afraid of thee. But if he shows signs contrary to the above, he is thy enemy and ill-wisher.

Beware of one of a defective make, or having some physical imperfection.<sup>3</sup>

The best proportioned construction is of him who possesses medium stature, black hair and eyes—the latter somewhat deep set—round face, white mixed with red or moderately brown colour, with perfect form and well-proportioned body, head neither too large nor too small. Who speaks little except on necessary occasions, a voice neither too loud nor too low, inclining towards thinness but not too thin. And whose temperament inclines towards spleen and bile. Such a man is of a perfect formation. Choose him for thy company. Now I shall describe to thee some parts of the body separately, the knowledge of which coupled with what has been mentioned above will enable thee to read character.

Soft hair denotes timidity, coldness of the brain, and scarcity of understanding. Coarse hair denotes courage and soundness of the brain. Excess of hair on the shoulders and the neck denotes stupidity and rashness. And much hair on the chest and the belly denotes wildness of nature, scarcity of understanding, and excess of tyranny. Red hair is a sign of stupidity and love of power.<sup>4</sup> And black hair is a sign of mildness of nature and love of justice.<sup>5</sup>

p. 168 The man whose eyes are large and protruding is envious, shameless, and lazy, and is unworthy of being trusted, especially if his eyes are blue.<sup>6</sup> But one whose eyes are moderate in size inclined to deepness and darkness, he should be intelligent and

<sup>1</sup> or has much hair on his head, as thou bewarest of poisonous snakes *W.*

<sup>2</sup> do not befriend him. But if his eyes *W.*

<sup>3</sup> as much as thou eschewest thine enemy *W.*

<sup>4</sup> a sign of great and swift ire *W.*

<sup>5</sup> and the mean between the two betokens fairness *W.*

<sup>6</sup> and probably he is evil-eyed *W inserts.*

quick witted.<sup>1</sup> But he whose eyes are slanting is wicked.<sup>2</sup> He whose eyes are motionless, like those of animals, is rough natured and ignorant. And he whose eyes are constantly moving and revolving is cunning and of treacherous and thieving propensities. He whose eyes are red is bold and reckless. And the worst of all eyes are blue ones of a turquoise colour, and if there happen to be white, black, or red spots around them, their owner must be the worst and most pernicious of all mankind.

Eyebrows of bushy hair<sup>3</sup> denote impotence and unintelligibility of speech. And if they are united to the temples, the owner of such eyebrows is conceited and boastful. And he whose eyebrows are thin, and of moderate length, and are black, he is quick-witted.

If the nose happen to be thin, its owner is impetuous.<sup>4</sup> And if the nostrils are so long as to almost enter the mouth it betokens courage. And he who is flat-nosed is lustful. And he whose nostrils are very wide is irascible. And when the middle of the nose is thick inclining to snubness its owner shall be vainglorious and lying. But the most symmetrical of all noses is that which is not too long, is of moderate thickness and height, and with nostrils not too wide.

A wide forehead without any wrinkles in it, indicates quarrel-someness, mischievousness, carelessness, and vaingloriousness. But he whose forehead is of moderate width and height and with wrinkles in it, is truthful, faithful, intelligent, and skilful. And he whose forehead is of conspicuous protrusion is taciturn and prudent.

He whose mouth is wide is brave, and he whose lips are thick and teeth long is stupid. And he whose face is thin is careful in his actions and intelligent.<sup>5</sup>

He<sup>6</sup> whose face is small inclining to sallow is vile, wicked, deceitful, and arrogant. He whose face is long is shameless.

<sup>1</sup> loving faithfulness *IV* inserts.

<sup>2</sup> deceitful *IV*.

<sup>3</sup> denote talkativeness *IV*.

<sup>4</sup> He who has tender nostrils will be a man of soft temperament *IV*.

<sup>5</sup> A large mouth betokens courage, thick lips betoken simplicity, and one who has red lips of mean thickness is a just man. He whose teeth stand out prominently and close together is treacherous, scheming, and unfaithful: he who has straight teeth well set with space between them is intelligent, trusty, and faithful *IV*.

<sup>6</sup> who has a face with swollen cheeks is ignorant and of rough disposition: he *IV*.

And the best of faces is one of good width, modest looking, neither too wide nor too small, with soft cheeks, thin lips, good teeth, without having too much hair in beard or eyebrows. He whose temples are protruding and the veins of his neck full is irascible. He whose ears are very large is foolish, but of a good memory. And he whose ears are very small is stupid, a thief, sensuous, and cowardly. He whose voice is strong is brave. He whose voice is neither too loud nor too low, and who speaks neither too fast nor too slow, is wise, prudent, and truthful. He whose voice is harsh inclining to shrillness is foolish, but patient in hardship and oppression. And he whose voice is extremely soft is insolent and ill-natured. But the best voice is one with moderate nasal twang and softness. He whose speech is moderate in harshness and softness, fastness and slowness, is wise, prudent, sincere, good natured, and of social habits. And he whose speech is fast, especially if his voice happens to be soft, is shameless, foolish, and a liar. He whose speech is harsh is irascible  
 D. 170 and ill-natured. He whose speech has a strong nasal twang is envious and deceitful. And he who is harsh of speech<sup>1</sup> is foolish, stupid, and conceited.

He who moves his body too much in speaking or plays with his hands is talkative, shameless, boastful, and deceitful. And he who is grave and taciturn is perfect in nature, prudent, and intelligent. But one who stammers in speech or minces his words is defective in reason.

He whose neck is long and thin is stupid and timid.<sup>2</sup> He whose neck is extremely short is foolish, cunning, and vile. He whose neck is very thick is foolish and a glutton. The best neck is one of moderate size and thickness, with conspicuous veins and with little flesh.<sup>3</sup>

He whose belly is large is stupid, ignorant, conceited, and fond of lechery.<sup>4</sup> Thinness of the belly and moderation in the width of the chest indicate<sup>5</sup> courage with stupidity. Crookedness of the back indicates ill-nature and low-mindedness. And evenness and straightness of the back, prominence of the chest, are good

<sup>1</sup> pleasant *IV*.

<sup>2</sup> clamorous, stupid, and simple *IV*.

<sup>3</sup> Whosoever has a neck well-proportioned in length and thickness is wise, able, and a faithful friend. *IV*.

<sup>4</sup> and faint-hearted *IV*.

<sup>5</sup> generous understanding and good counsel. Broad shoulders and back betoken *IV* inserts.

signs. Prominence of the shoulders indicates evil intentions and bad character.

When the arms are long so that the hands reach the knees it is a sign of courage and generosity. And if the arms are short their owner shall be a lover of mischief and cowardly.

Long palms and fingers indicate aptitude for arts and business and good government. Short and thick fingers indicate ignorance, p. 171 stupidity and low aims.

Similarly, broad and fleshy feet indicate ignorance and love of oppression, and small and soft feet indicate wickedness.<sup>1</sup> The best feet are those of moderate size and symmetrical of form, with little flesh, sound nails, and symmetrical toes. Thinness of the ankles<sup>2</sup> denotes timidity, and their thickness indicates courage. And fullness of the calves and ankles denotes foolishness and shamelessness.<sup>3</sup> Likewise too full thighs show weakness and softness.

He whose steps are wide and slow<sup>4</sup> is successful in his actions and undertakings and prudent for the issue of his affairs. He whose steps are short and quick is hasty in his actions, ill-natured, unmethodical in his affairs, and of evil design.<sup>5</sup>

The best of men is one having a moderate-sized mouth, soft and moist flesh, neither too thin nor too fat, neither too tall nor too short, in colour either white inclining to red, or a clear brown colour, oval in face, and of even features,<sup>6</sup> hair long—neither too thick nor too thin<sup>7</sup>—of a colour between red and black,<sup>8</sup> moderate-sized<sup>9</sup> eyes, somewhat deep-set, moderate-sized head, straight neck, square shoulders inclined to sloping, moderately broad chest, back and thighs not too full, a clear and moderate voice, smooth palms, long fingers inclined to thinness, grave, thoughtful, amiable, cheerful so as to inspire others with his cheerfulness, and high minded.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> courage *W.*

<sup>2</sup> heel *W.*

<sup>3</sup> hardness and strength of body *W.*

<sup>4</sup> are moderate *W.*

<sup>5</sup> hasty in his work and not resolute in his affairs *W.*

<sup>6</sup> smooth of cheek *W.*

<sup>7</sup> between the lank and the curly *W.*

<sup>8</sup> of a fair colour *W.*

<sup>9</sup> big, black *W.*

<sup>10</sup> Sparing in words, except when it is absolutely necessary, not gluttonous or sensual beyond measure. This is the most perfect creature of the sons of man, and this is the man I would choose for thee: search therefore for a man who answers this description, and thou shalt thereby prosper. Thou knowest already that a ruler is more dependent on the subjects than they are on him. So comprehend these signs which I have mentioned to thee, and try them with thy sure discernment and acute examination, for thou shalt profit much thereby, if God will *W.*

p. 172 Therefore, O Alexander, whenever thou findest such a man choose him for thy company and for governing thy people and for serving thyself. But thou must not, O Alexander, form thy judgement of a man's character by one sign only, but judge them on the whole. And when thou findest contrary signs lean towards those that are stronger and more conclusive so that thou mayest be rightly guided and achieve thy objects, by the help of God.

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## DISCOURSE III.

*On the Form of Justice.*

*Section A* O Alexander, justice is a noble attribute among the attributes of God, may His name be glorified and exalted. And the king whom God has chosen to rule over His people, and to whom He has granted the government of their affairs and power over their lives and properties and all other matters, is like a god, and it is necessary for him to resemble Him in the attributes of mercy, wisdom, &c. And the attributes of God are numberless. Therefore, O Alexander, right is opposed to oppression, and the contrary of oppression is justice.

It is through justice that the heavens stand over the earth, and it was for justice that the holy prophets were sent. And justice is the form of the reason which God gives to those most beloved of Him. It is with justice that the earth is populated, kingdoms are established, people become obedient,<sup>1</sup> savages are tamed and the wild ones are civilized, distant ones are drawn near, souls become safe from destruction, and rulers become immune from all sorts of evils.

p. 124 It is for this reason that the people of India have said : The justice of a king is better for the people than plenitude.<sup>2</sup> And their wise men have said : A just king is better than a universal and continuous rain. And it has been found inscribed on stones in the Syrian language that king and justice are mutually<sup>3</sup> indispensable. All things have been created from elements.<sup>4</sup> And the cause is the action which has caused their being.

<sup>1</sup> *W*: it is the comfort of those who doubt and wonder.

<sup>2</sup> *W*: prosperity of the time. <sup>3</sup> *W*: brothers and mutually.

<sup>4</sup> *B* reads : All things have been created out of one element which is their form, and their cause is the action which has brought them into being,

And the doer is the all-wise and all-powerful God. And the accepting by the element of the influence of the action is the effect.

The Cause which is the principle (or element?) is potential and the effect is the existent, and it shows the wisdom of the wise Creator, and the reception by the principle (or element?) of the influence of the action according to what it is capable of receiving, is Justice.

Therefore it is plain that Justice is of two kinds : apparent and hidden. Apparent justice is that which is manifest from the actions of the Creator according to its definitions of equality in weight and measure, since the word equity literally means equality. The hidden justice is the belief in the wise Creator and His creation, and finding out His words.

I have stated before that a king resembles God in power and therefore it is necessary for him to try to resemble Him in acts as well, and to establish among his people such laws and customs p. 125 as are in accordance with justice and divine commandments. And he ought to believe in them himself, for it is by belief and faith that Law derives its power. And when the people see that the king believes in, and follows, his Law, they also believe in, and follow it, and they become easy in their minds.

And as there are various classes of people, the methods of justice among them are also different. Justice is a word which means equal division, removal of oppression, correctness of weights and equality of measures. It is a name that combines in itself the meanings of all kinds of virtues and noble qualities

and the doer . . . God. And the acceptance of the element is the effect of the action, and being affected by relation is the element and the possibility. And the action is being, and the manifestor of the wisdom of the wise Creator. And the acceptance of the effect according to its ability of acceptance is justice, &c.

*C* reads this passage a little differently : And it has been found engraved on some stones in *Greek* that sovereignty and justice are two brothers, one of whom cannot do without the other. And all things are from an element. And the cause is reason which has brought them into being. And the agent the all-wise and powerful (God). Hence the acceptance by the element of the effect of reason is the "being wrought".

Therefore cause is the "element"—the "possibility", and the "being wrought" is the "being"—the wisdom of the Wise Maker, and the acceptance by the element of the effect from reason—the effect which it is capable of accepting—is justice.

and magnanimous deeds. Justice is of various kinds. There is a form of justice which ought to be observed by governors in their government. There is another form of justice which a man ought to observe in his dealings with his Creator. Then there is a form of justice which ought to be observed by men in their dealings with each other.

O Alexander, I have invented for thee a diagram according to Philosophy, Law, and Divinity which will inform thee of everything that is in the world and which comprehends the government of the world and comprises all the degrees and classes of the people, and the form of justice required for each of them. I have divided this figure<sup>1</sup> according to the divisions p. 125 of the heavenly spheres. Thou mayest begin with any division thou likkest, it will lead thee to one next to it like the continuation of the revolution of heavens. And as all the forms of government, whether the high or low, depend upon the world, I found it advisable to begin this figure with the world.

And this figure, O Alexander, is the essence of this book and the key to thy object. If I had not sent to thee anything else except this figure, in compliance with thy request, it would have sufficed thee. Therefore study it with sincere thought and it will lead thee to all thy objects and will obtain for thee all that thou desirest, and make perfect all that thou lovest, if God will.

#### CIRCLE OF THE SPHERE.<sup>2</sup>

The world is a garden hedged in by sovereignty.—Sovereignty is lordship exalted by law.—Law is guidance governing the king.—The king is a shepherd mustering the army.—The army are dragons fed by money.—Money is food gathered by the people.—The people are servants subjected to justice.—Justice is happiness and the establishment of the world.<sup>3</sup>

Justice is the harmonizer and supporter of the world.

The world is the foundation of the institution of state.

State is the king who preserves the laws.

Law is government governed by the king.

The king is the guardian of the people with the help of the army.

The army is composed of the officials gathered together by wealth.

<sup>1</sup> *IV*: so that each section represents one degree, and thou.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> as in *IV*.

Wealth or revenue is collected by the people.  
The people are subject to justice.<sup>1</sup>

There can be no justice and government without the subject.

There can be no subject without a king.

There can be no king without an army.

There can be no army without a state.

There can be no state without men (soldiers).

There can be no soldiers without money.

There can be no money without population (and peace).

There can be no population and peace without justice and government.<sup>2</sup>

The world is a garden whose fence is dominion ; dominion is lordship whose principle is law ; law is administration directed by the king ; the king is a crown supported by the army ; the army is a supporter maintained by money ; money is a product amassed by the people ; the people are rendered happy by justice ; justice secures the prosperity of the world.

Useful information derived from certain of the learned on the authority of the Imâm (may God accept him) : he said there can be no state without men (soldiers), and no men without wealth, and no wealth without subjects, and no people without justice, and no justice without law, which is the life of the state.

And in the above figure all the divisions are connected with one another : state is a power established by custom, custom is a weapon wielded by the king, the king is an arm supported by the army, the army is composed of soldiers employed by wealth, wealth is subsistence collected by the subjects, the subjects are composed of servants subjugated by justice, justice is civilization and well-being of the world, the world is the ground on which is based the foundation of state.<sup>3</sup>

#### DISCOURSE IV.

*\* On Ministers, their numbers, the method of governing them, the experience of their counsels, and the quality of their intelligence.* *Section B*

O Alexander, understand this discourse, and know that its value is great. For verily, by thy truth I have collected together

<sup>1</sup> As in C.

<sup>2</sup> as in A.

<sup>3</sup> as in B.

<sup>4</sup> W: Of the quality of the wazîr, the manner of his governance, the testing of his judgement, and the nature of his intellect.

in it everything of the sciences of philosophy,<sup>1</sup> and the quality and the composition of reason, and I have revealed in it certain divine secrets as they were indispensable for thy instruction in the reality of reason and the manner of its distribution among the creatures of God, and the method of gaining knowledge thereof. Because verily it is of utmost importance to thee. Therefore comprehend it, if God will.

p. 127 Know, O Alexander, that the first thing created by God, glorified be His name, was a simple spiritual essence in exceeding perfection and excellence, in which were the forms of all things. This He named Reason. Out of this essence there was created another, next to it in rank, which was called the Universal Soul.

Out of the latter He brought into being a third essence named  
1. 128 Matter (hyle, hayūlā). Matter on receiving dimensions, i.e. length, breadth, and thickness, became pure body.

Then this body adopted a spherical form, which is the best of all forms, and greatest in space and continuation. Out of this spherical form then were created the heavens, planets, and all other ethereal bodies, the purest of them being the first and the coarsest the last.

So, beginning from the first, or the all-comprehending sphere, to the last sphere which is the sphere of the moon, there are in all nine spheres one within the other. The first and the highest is, as mentioned before, the all-comprehending sphere. Next to it p. 129 is the starry sphere. Next to it is the sphere of Saturn, then the sphere of Jupiter, then of Mars, then of the Sun, then of Venus, then of Mercury, then the sphere of the Moon, and then the sphere of the elements: fire, air, water, and the earth. So the earth is the centre of all the spheres, and it is the coarsest of all bodies in essence and thickest or most solid of them in substance.

And when these spheres were arranged in one another as the wisdom of the Creator had decreed, in the wisest and the best arrangement, and revolved with their substance and their stars around the four elements mentioned before, and night and day, summer and winter, heat and cold followed one another, and when all these were mixed and tempered with one another, the finer mixing with the coarser, the heavier with the lighter, the warm with the cold, the moist with the dry, there were formed

<sup>1</sup> *W* adds: and wisdom.

from their combinations, after long ages, various compositions, vegetables, and animals.

Minerals are all those materials which are formed inside the earth, at the bottom of seas, and in the hollows of mountains, from the pent-up vapours, and rising smokes, and the moisture closed in caves, and the atmosphere. The preponderating element in all minerals is the earth. The minerals are: gold, silver, iron, tin, zinc, and others which are known and exist. As for animals, every body that moves, feels, and transports itself from place to place is called an animal. The preponderating element in animals is air. Hence vegetables are superior of composition to minerals, p. 130 and animals are superior to vegetables.

Man is the noblest of all animals in construction, and the preponderating element in him is fire. In the composition of man there are united all the essences of creation—whether elemental or composite, because man is composed of body which is coarse and material, and of the soul which is a pure, heavenly, and spiritual essence.

Therefore it is necessary for thee, O Alexander, if thou intendest to acquire the knowledge of the realities of all beings, that thou shouldst begin with the knowledge of thine own soul, as it is the thing nearest to thyself. Then thou shouldst try to know other things.

And know that the universal soul is a spiritual power which has emanated from reason by the permission of God, glory be to Him. And know that it possesses two kinds of powers which penetrate all bodies as the light of the sun penetrates all particles of air. One of these powers is (the Perceptive) intellective, and the other the Active. And God has gifted it with seven faculties, namely: the attractive, the retentive, the digestive, the expulsive, the nutritive (or assimilative), the formative, and the productive. These faculties work in the formation of the body of man, when the seed is deposited in the womb it takes nine months to be completed. And when this period comes to an end the power p. 131 of the animal spirit transports it, by the will of God, from that place to the open space of this house (the world), and begins another kind of action, which lasts for four years. Then there comes the power of speech which interprets the names of things perceived. Then it takes up another course of action which continues until the child is fifteen years old. Then he acquires

the power of reasoning, through which he distinguishes between the meanings of the things perceived. Then it takes up another course of action which continues till he is thirty years of age, when he acquires the power of wisdom through which he comprehends the meanings of intellectual facts. Then it takes up another course of action which lasts till he is forty years old, when he acquires the angelic (or spiritual) power which helps him towards the knowledge of God. Then it takes up another course of action which lasts till he is fifty years old, when he acquires the religious power which helps him to prepare for the next world. Then it takes up another course of action which continues till the end of his life.

And if the soul is completed and perfected before its departing from the body, there comes down to it the universal spirit and takes p. 132 it to the heavenly assembly. Then it takes up another course of action until it is united with the sphere of Reason and the approved object of the Universal Soul.

*Section C* And when God created man, and made him the noblest of all animals, and commanded him and prohibited him, and appointed for him punishments and rewards,<sup>1</sup> He made his body like a city and his reason its king.<sup>2</sup> And He appointed for that king five ministers in order to help him in the government of the body, and to obtain for him all that he needed and all that was useful for him, and to warn him against all that was hurtful and injurious to him. This king cannot exist and cannot be perfect without those five ministers. And He gave to each of the ministers a particular uniform which should distinguish him from his companion, and a peculiar quality not possessed by any one else. And by their united judgement all his affairs were governed and his actions performed.

These five ministers are the five senses : the eyes, ears, tongue, nose, and the hands.

p. 133 The faculty of the eyes is to see its objects which are of ten kinds : light, darkness, colour, body, form, place, distance, proximity, motion, and rest.

The faculty of the ears is to hear sounds and they are of two kinds : animal and lifeless. Animal sounds are of two kinds :

<sup>1</sup> *W* follows from p. 228, l. 12 : And then afterwards in His wisdom and His plan He bound it up with the visible and sensitive body, and.

<sup>2</sup> *W* omits to p. 232, l. 3.

intelligible, as the speech of man, and unintelligible, as the neighing of a horse, the braying of an ass, the whistling of birds, &c.

Lifeless sounds are such as are produced by the coming in contact of two pieces of wood or stones, &c., and such as the sound of thunder, of the drum, and the lute. And know that every sound has a tune, a note, and a condition. And the soul of every sound is its music. Therefore when the air which carries this sound comes into motion it also moves its spirit which divides the various notes and prevents them from coalescing or being mixed with one another. Then it reaches to its extreme limit in the perception of hearing, which conveys it to the imaginative faculty.

The sense of taste lies in the tongue. It distinguishes tastes and flavours. They are of nine kinds: sweet, bitter, salt, greasy, sour, sharp, astringent, insipid, and styptic.

The sense of smell is through the nose. It distinguishes between odours, which are of two kinds: pleasant and unpleasant.

The sense of touch is in the hand. Its objects are: heat and cold, roughness and smoothness. This faculty is situated between two skins, one of which is the outer covering of the body, and the p. 134 other is next to the flesh.<sup>1</sup>

And when each of these senses has obtained that for which God has created it to serve the king, [reason], it imparts it to the nerves which are situated in the front part of the brain and which are as fine as cobwebs, and which serve the purpose of curtains, or servants, to the king; and the said nerves carry it to the front portion of the brain. Then all the perceptions of the senses are presented to the faculty of imagination, which passes them on to the cogitative faculty which is situated in the centre of the brain, so that it may look into them, judge their meanings, and know their harms and benefits, and act accordingly.

Therefore the existence of the body depends upon these senses and so does the beauty of everything else. O Alexander, thus perfection depends upon five things. As the planets, on which depend the heavenly spheres, are five. There are five kinds of animals: man, birds, small animals, large animals, and reptiles. So there are five things without which vegetables also cannot exist: root, stem, branch, leaf, and taste. There are five notes in p. 135 music without which no harmony is perfect. And there are five

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is placed before the preceding in the Latin.

days completing the year which occur at the end of the month Azar (March).<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, O Alexander, consider this speech and act according to it, and follow the example of God in all thy actions.<sup>2</sup> Let there be five ministers to thee, and consult them all separately in all thy affairs. It will be better for thee. And do not reveal to them thine own counsel and intention, and do not let any of them know whose counsel thou dost prefer, and do not let them think that thou standest in need of their counsel, lest they may despise thee. And collect together all their counsels in thine own mind as the brain does with that which the senses bring to it. Then ask the help of God in thy affair, and lean towards that counsel which is opposite to thine own desire.

It was for this reason that Hermes replied to the question whether the judgement of the man consulted is superior to that of him who consults : ‘Yes, because his judgement is not influenced by his personal desire.’ And this is true. And when thou callest together all thy ministers in thy presence to take their counsel, thou shouldst not mix up thine own judgement with theirs, but hear all that they have to say. And if they are hasty in their replies and are of one opinion, then contradict them, and show them the weakness of their judgement, so that they should think longer on the subject and reflect on all its points. Because there is no good in hasty judgements.

And when thou findest that their judgement or the judgement of one of them is right, show thy approval of them all so that they p. 136 should not know which of them thou dost prefer ; and they should remain in ignorance of the counsel thou hast approved until thou dost carry it out, because secrecy is essential for success in all affairs. Experience and practice will show thee which one of them

<sup>1</sup> *W* reads : And the soul its lieutenant serving that city and studying its parts. And He caused the reason to dwell in the most honoured and in the highest place, to wit, the head, and He caused the soul to dwell in all the parts of the body, and from without and within it moves and regulates reason. If anything should happen to the soul, then body and reason are destroyed; but if anything happens to the reason and the soul remains perfect, then the body remains hale until from the Lord comes the destruction of the whole, when the destined term of life is accomplished (in succession to p. 230, l. 21).

<sup>2</sup> *W* reads : Have only one counsellor, and take counsel with him in all thy intentions and listen to his advice, even if it be contrary to thy desires, for then that advice would be a true one.

deserves to be trusted most for his counsels and correctness of judgement. Because a minister's counsel and his care in the management of thy services shall be according to his love of thyself and his desire for the continuance of thy sovereignty.

And beware of giving preference to one of them over another in gifts, precedence, and other matters. For verily many states have been ruined in ancient times owing to the rivalry of ministers and their being given preference one to another. And do not show more favour to a younger man than to an older one, except when the counsel of the younger one happens to be superior.<sup>1</sup>

And I say to thee, O Alexander, that counsel depends on the body; and when the body grows decrepit through age counsel also becomes weak.

Also correctness of judgement depends upon nativity. Every one is born at a certain hour, and his subsequent proficiency in arts and his successes or failures in his undertakings depend upon the influence of the stars ruling over his nativity. Even if his parents try to turn him to engage in some other art or profession he will turn to the one decreed to him by his stars. There is a story in illustration of the above :

Certain astrologers happened to pass through a village where p. 137 a man who was a weaver made them his guests, and entertained them. On that night there was born to the weaver a son. The astrologers drew out his horoscope and looked into his stars. His nativity was in the sign Virgo, and Mercury was in the sign Gemini its own 'house' with Jupiter, and inauspicious stars were absent. Therefore they augured that the new-born child would be learned, dexterous, and of sound judgement, and that he would manage the affairs of kings. They wondered at it, but did not inform his father. The boy grew up, and his father desired to teach him his own craft, but the boy's nature was averse from it, and he refused to learn it. His father tried compulsion and beat him until he was tired; but it was of no avail, so he left him alone. Then the boy turned towards men of learning, studied sciences and histories, and

<sup>1</sup> *W* reads: And when his advice shall appear true to thee, do not hasten to fulfil it, but tarry for a day and a night. But if it is a thing which thou art afraid that thou couldst otherwise not carry through, then do it speedily. And if after proof and examination it will have become clear to thee concerning thy counsellor, and of the love which he bears to thee, then take his advice. Pay no regard to old men when the advice that comes from a young man could be more profitable.

acquired the arts of government, until at last he became a minister. His fame spread, and his story became public.

Another story, in direct opposition to the above showing the wonders of the influence of the stars, is that of a son of an Indian king. His nativity had foretold that he should be a smith. The astrologers concealed this from the king, and when the boy grew up his father wanted to teach him.<sup>1</sup> But the boy's ambition did not respond, and his nature inclined him only to the craft of smiths. The king was very much grieved on perceiving this, and he called together all the astrologers of the age. They unanimously confirmed the tendency of the boy's nature.

There are many other stories of this kind and those resembling it are well known.

<sup>2</sup> To the above-mentioned king's son are ascribed the fine-tempered swords of India. And whenever he was reproached for it, he replied that they were the helpers of his father, and a treasure possessed by no one else.

O Alexander, do not despise small (humble) men. And whenever thou findest one who is eager for knowledge, steady in his p. 138 conduct, patient and an abstainer from vices, make much of him; especially if he possess, in addition, to the above, high mindedness, noble pedigree, eloquence, pleasant conversation, rhetoric, and knowledge of the history of the ancients and bygone nations, and of the lives of the great men of past times. Value the friendship of such a man. And if beside the above-mentioned qualities he possesses sound judgement, discretion, purity of soul, and strong and firm faith in thy laws and practises them, no one deserves better than he to be minister and manager of the state.

O Alexander, do not put first or last any action,<sup>3</sup> without due consultation. For philosophers have never ceased from saying that counsel is the essence of true guidance.<sup>4</sup> And it is written in the books of the Persians that one of their kings took the counsel of his ministers regarding a most important secret affair of his state, on which his power depended. One of the ministers said to him: <sup>5</sup> It is necessary for the king to consult with us

<sup>1</sup> *W* adds: all the manners and government of kings.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph occurs only in *A*.

<sup>3</sup> i. e. hurry over or delay. <sup>4</sup> *W* adds: and the cause of success.

<sup>5</sup> It is not meet for thee, O king, to take counsel with only one of us in thy affairs, but thou shouldst in preference take counsel with each one of us singly. But he ought not to heed them. The one would keep his secret,

separately and in secret on matters of such great importance and difficulty. For doing so is more conducive to secrecy, more prudent for counsel, and more befitting to ensure safety ; and it saves us from being suspected of the treachery of another. If the secret is revealed to one only he will take care not to divulge it. It is not necessary to act thus in all matters, but only in rare circumstances. It is always best for a king to call his ministers together and to consult with them publicly in all matters great or small, as we have stated before.

As some ancient philosophers have said, a king of sound judgement is assisted and strengthened by the counsels of his ministers, as a river is augmented by the help of its tributary streams, although the river may be independent of their help.<sup>1</sup> By prudence and counsel is obtained what cannot be obtained by p. 139 power and an army.

And it is written in one of the books of the Persians : A king advised his son saying :<sup>2</sup> Always take counsel, for thou art but a single man. And consult with him who reports to thee concerning the infidels, and takes advantage of an opportunity against thy enemy, and prevents thy enemy from taking advantage of an opportunity against thee.<sup>3</sup>

And let not thy appreciation<sup>4</sup> of thy own judgement or thy high station prevent thee from adding to thy counsel the counsel of others. For if their counsel is better than thine own, thou mayest accept it, and if it is weaker than thine own, thou canst do without it.<sup>5</sup>

O Alexander, the best and most emphatic of my advice to thee is this, that thou never be content with only one minister. For, doing so will ruin thy subjects, and thy state and thy army ; it will and the king could rely on his advice and be better inclined to peace, and pay less attention to their advice on account of the mutual jealousy of colleagues. For there is greater safety in revealing the secret only to one at a time, and the king is more sure. But when the opinion of one of them seems sound, and *(discord)* appears among them, the king can rely on it without consulting any one else *W*.

<sup>1</sup> And Bhtm the Greek said : The clever king gains by the advice of his counsellors just as the sea gains by the flow of the rivers *W*.

<sup>2</sup> And one of the kings of Persia said unto his son *W*.

<sup>3</sup> for among men there will be found some one who can explain hidden secrets *W*.

<sup>4</sup> *W* adds : nor the liberality.

<sup>5</sup> If thy opinion will agree with theirs, then thine will get stronger by it. If it be different, then take heed and consider it carefully and ponder over it ; if it is more profitable accept it, and if it be less then leave it utterly.

harm thy interests and will turn away the hopes that people have in thee into other directions too numerous to describe. If thou canst not find five ministers with the qualities described above, p. 140 thou must have at least three of them. For the least support for anything is made of three numbers. The medium is five, and the most perfect is seven. For the heavens are seven and so are the earths: the planets are seven and so are the days of the week: (the revolutions of the moon are seven. B.), the days of joy are seven, and so are those of sorrow. And the number seven is found in many other things too numerous to relate.

One of the methods of trying thy minister is this. Give him to think that thou standest in need of money. If he counsel thee to draw upon thy treasury, and make this to appear easy to thee,<sup>1</sup> then verily he is no treasure for thee. And if he suggest to thee the advisability of extracting money from the people, this policy is of the worst kind, and will lead thee to incur the hatred of the people.<sup>2</sup> And if he offer to thee his own wealth, and entreat thee to make use of it, be certain that he is truly loyal to thee.<sup>3</sup> Be grateful to him and value his services. For verily money is loved by all souls, and no one is willing to sacrifice it for thee unless he prefer thee to himself.

Also examine thy ministers by giving them gifts and presents. And whomsoever thou findest greedy thereof he shall be of no good to thee. Because the minister whose sole object is the acquirement of wealth serves thee for his own gain and not for thy sake. Verily the love of gain corrupts judgement, and is an incurable disease. For the more he gains the more he wants.

p. 141 And the greed of a minister leads to the ruin of the state for many reasons. For such a minister can be easily led by thy enemy by being bribed to destroy thee.

It is advisable for this reason not to allow a minister to leave thy presence, and to bind him not to hold any communication with any other king—either by correspondence or through messengers. And if thou findest a minister doing so, reproach him

<sup>1</sup> he is of no value to thee, thou mayest not do so except in time of great need, when there are no other means of help, for he has counted it and treasured it up *W.*

<sup>2</sup> *W.* adds: and thereby destroy thy kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> and if his counsel results in the fulfilment of thy wishes, then his action deserves gratitude, and from this thou learnest that he is willing to sacrifice himself for thy service *W.*

immediately. For human nature is very much subject to influence and temptation. The best of ministers is he who is always present before thee and is obedient to thy will : who will go against himself and the world in order to please thee ; who will sacrifice his wealth and position<sup>1</sup> for thy sake ;<sup>2</sup> whom nothing can turn against thee ;<sup>3</sup> who will not leave thy door morning or evening, and who possesses the following qualities :<sup>4</sup>

*Firstly* : His limbs should fulfil their functions perfectly.

*Secondly* : He should possess a good understanding, quick appreciation of everything said to him.

*Thirdly* : He should have a good memory so as never to forget anything that he hears or perceives.

*Fourthly* : He should be intelligent and quick-witted, so that a smallest clue will lead him to a right conclusion.

*Fifthly* : He should be possessed of good expression so as to be able to explain his thoughts in a few words.

*Sixthly* : He should be skilful in all sciences, especially in p. 143 Arithmetic, because it is a true science, and is a good proof of intellectual sharpness.

*Seventhly* : He should be truthful in his words, for the love of truth, avoiding falsehood from the hatred of it : honest in his dealings, good-natured, amiable and of a cheerful temperament.

*Eighthly* : He should not be greedy in eating, drinking, and lechery, but should be moderate in all things, and avoiding play and pleasures.

*Ninthly* : He should be high minded, lofty natured, and a lover of magnanimity.

*Tenthly* : He should be high-souled, and dinars and dirhems and all worldly possessions should be trifling in his eyes. And his sole ambition should be to increase the glory of his sovereign and to make him beloved of his people.

*Eleventhly* : He should be a lover of justice and its followers, an enemy to injustice and oppression ; should give to every one his due, sympathize with the oppressed and remove injustice from him ; and nothing should turn him from the path of justice.

<sup>1</sup> and his people C.

<sup>2</sup> The most praiseworthy among thy counsellors is he to whom thy life and service is dear, and who despises the world only to fulfil thy wishes and puts his person and his goods at thy pleasure W.

<sup>3</sup> Only in A.

<sup>4</sup> He must have these virtues that I name now W.

*Twelfthly*: He should be bold in carrying out his intentions after having found them to be right. He should be courageous and not pusillanimous.

*Thirteenthly*: He should be thoroughly acquainted with all the sources of thy expenditure, and should know beforehand the cause of the complaint brought to him and its remedy.

*Fourteenthly*: He should not be too talkative or too loving of laughter and pleasantry: nor should he be too retiring, or despise mixing with the people.

1. 143 *Fifteenthly*: He should not be addicted to wine: his house should be open to natives and travellers; his ear should be open to hear all the news: he should be always ready to remove the complaints of the people, to improve their affairs: he should be conciliating towards them, and forbearing towards their prejudices.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *W* reads: (1) He must be perfect in all his limbs, trained for the work for which and to which he is chosen.

(2) He must be a man of wide knowledge, deep wisdom, and quick imagination, understanding everything that is told him, endowed with feeling and memory, alert, sagacious, and heedful, convinced by proof only, and perceiving the intention at which others are aiming.

(3) He must be of fine countenance and good in his actions, but he must not be arrogant or audacious.

(4) He must be of fair speech, so that his tongue can express what is in his heart and mind in a few words.

(5) He must be well dressed and versed in all the sciences, especially in that of mathematics, which is the true science resting upon evidence, which improves the nature.

(6) He must speak truly, loving the truth and driving away the lie, being faithful in his transactions, sincere to the people, gentle and easy of access.

(7) He must not be given much to eating, drinking, and lechery, keeping away from frivolity and sensual delights.

(8) He must be great in soul, lofty in aim, loving honour and hating oppression.

(9) That dinars and dirhems, and all the accidents of the world be despised by him, and that he put his mind only on those things which would bring honour to the king and make him beloved in the eyes of the people.

(10) He must love justice and those who practise it, and hate violence and wrong, and yield equity to whom it belongs, having pity on those who have suffered violence, refraining from it himself, and not being deterred from this by the complicity of any one.

(11) He must be of strong determination in anything which it is necessary for him to accomplish without fear or weakness of spirit, firm of heart, excelling in horsemanship and the conduct of war.

(12) He must be a good correspondent, a good calligraphist, well educated,

<sup>1</sup> O Alexander, God has not created any being more powerful *Section D* than man, nor does any other animal contain all those qualities which are collected in him. And there is no moral quality in an animal which is not to be found in man. For man is courageous as a lion, timid as a hare, generous as a cock, avaricious as a dog,<sup>2</sup> licentious as a crow, wild as a leopard, sociable as a pigeon, sly as a fox, tame as a sheep, swift as a deer, slow as a bear, proud as an elephant, humble as a donkey, thievish as a magpie, vain as a peacock, unerring as a qatā (partridge), erring (and stupid) as an ostrich, fugitive as a ram,<sup>3</sup> importunate as an ox, refractory as a mule,<sup>4</sup> mute as a fish,<sup>5</sup> talkative as an owl,<sup>6</sup> useful as a horse,<sup>7</sup> harmful as a rat. There is no animal, vegetable, mineral, heaven, planet, star, sign or any other being of the universe which possesses any peculiarity which is not to be found in man.

O Alexander, do not consult in thy actions any one who is not *Section E* a true believer and has no faith in God.<sup>8</sup> And the best of believers <sup>p. 144</sup> knowing the histories and the days of men, the lives of kings, the records of ancient nations and famous rulers. He must know all the issues of the expenses; nothing should be hidden from him of what is necessary and befitting for thee, so that the people should not rise against their subjection and he not know the cause of their complaints, but he should know how to pacify them, so that the subjects shall know that he understands the needs of the people, and they will no longer murmur against the king.

(13) He must not be talkative or roaring or jocular and insulting to people.

(14) He must not be of those who indulge in wine and ease and pleasures; he should spend night and day in meeting the people, dealing with deputations (lit. companies); in considering and planning; his court should be open to all who have business to transact. He should listen to their stories, help their cases, improve all their affairs, cheer their sadness and be patient with them. He must be of those who believe in Divinity, who trust in God's law, and follow His statutes.

<sup>1</sup> D, fol. 92, and C, fol. 48.

<sup>2</sup> o. *W*: in Heb.

<sup>3</sup> o. ins.: wakeful as the bee *W*.    <sup>4</sup> o. *W*: anxious as the spider.

<sup>5</sup> o. *W*: inquisitive as the cat.

<sup>6</sup> ins.: twittering as the swallow, sorrowing as the owl *W*.

<sup>7</sup> *W* adds: And above all I command thee and warn thee that thou shalt not make thyself hated by any man created by God in this world. For the first aim of reason, after belief in God, is the love of mankind.

<sup>8</sup> For this chapter *W* substitutes: I command and warn thee not to choose as wazir a blue-eyed man, especially if he is ruddy; him beware of most of all; do not trust a man having these two characteristics with any of thy affairs; be carefully on your guard against him; beware also of your relatives as thou bewarest of the Indian snakes which kill with their look. And know that excessive ruddiness together with blue eyes is a sign of vileness and deceit and treachery and envy, essential in human nature, and grounded in the formation of man.

is he who believes in religion as well as in thy Law and faith. Take care that the same thing may not happen to thee which happened to two men who were going together on the way. One of them was a fire-worshipper and the other a Jew. The fire-worshipper was riding a mule which he had trained according to his own nature. And he had on the mule all his necessities. And the Jew was walking on foot. He had neither any provision nor any belongings. And while they were talking together the fire-worshipper said suddenly to the Jew : 'What is thy religion and faith?' The Jew replied : 'I believe that there is one God in Heaven and that I am His servant. I seek of Him good for myself and for him who agrees with me in faith. And I believe that it is lawful for me to shed the blood of one who is opposed to me in faith and religion, and to take possession of his property and wife and children. And it is forbidden for me to help, or advise him, or to associate with him, or to have pity or kindness on him. It is my faith and belief which I have informed thee of ; now tell me what is thy faith and religion.'

The fire-worshipper replied : 'My faith is this that I wish well to myself and to my fellow beings. And I do not wish ill to any creature of God, whether he agrees with me in faith or not. And I believe that animals too should be treated with kindness and gentleness, and not maltreated or oppressed. For any pain inflicted on an animal reflects on me and causes me corresponding pain. And I love to see all happy and well.'

P. 145 Said the Jew : 'But if thou art treated with cruelty and oppression, what shalt thou do?' The fire-worshipper replied : 'I know that in Heaven there is a God who is all-knowing, just and wise. Nothing is hidden from Him of what His creatures do. He rewards those who do good for their good deeds and punishes the evil-doers for their evil actions.'

Then said the Jew : 'Why dost thou not follow thy religion and act according to thy belief?' 'How?' said the fire-worshipper. Said the Jew : 'I am thy fellow being, and thou seest that I am walking on foot, naked, tired, and hungry, while thou art riding and art satisfied and prosperous.' 'Thou art right,' said the fire-worshipper, and, coming down from his mule, he opened his satchel, and, giving food and drink to the Jew, mounted him on his mule.

The Jew, finding himself on the mule, spurred on and galloped away, leaving the fire-worshipper alone. The fire-worshipper ran

after him calling out: 'Stop, stop, I am dying!' The Jew called out in reply: 'Did I not inform thee of my creed, and didst thou not inform me of thine. As thou hast acted according to thy faith, I must act according to mine.' Thus saying he went away, leaving the Mage crying out: 'Alas, do not leave me alone in this desert, for wild beasts will eat me or I shall die of hunger and thirst. Have pity on me as I had on thee.' But the Jew paid no heed to him, and, galloping the mule, soon vanished from sight.

The Mage, despairing of the Jew, remembered the concluding part of his doctrine and faith that he had spoken to the Jew: 'There is a just God in heaven, from Whom nothing is hidden of the affairs of His creatures.' Therefore he raised up his head to heaven and said: 'O Lord, Thou knowest that I have faith in my religion, and I act according to it, and I praise Thee as Thou hast heard. Therefore, O Lord, prove those attributes of Thine to the Jew.' Thus saying he went on. Having gone a little way he p. 146 found that the mule had thrown down the Jew and broken his neck and a leg. The Jew was lying on one side and the mule was standing on the other. The mule seeing his master came near him. The Mage mounted on it and went away, leaving the Jew in the agonies of death. The Jew cried out: 'O Mage, I deserve now thy pity even more, as I am lying on the ground and am at the point of death. Therefore have compassion on me and carry out the injunctions of thy creed, even as thy creed has helped thee in punishing me. Verily I had committed no sin, as I had only acted upon my creed and that which had been taught to me by my parents and teachers.'

The Mage was moved with pity, and lifting him up on the mule brought him to the city and made him over to his relations. The Jew died after a few days. The king of that country hearing the account of the Jew and the Mage, made the latter his companion and friend. The Mage on account of his wisdom and sincerity of faith was soon made his Wazīr and one of the chosen grandees of his court.

Therefore see how God the great rewarded the Mage for his good faith and sincerity, and how He punished the Jew on account of his evil-mindedness and wickedness. Verily God compensates every one according to his faith and action, either in this world or in the next, and verily He does what He wills.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This story not in *J.*

## ¹ DISCOURSE V.

*On the writers of royal warrants and their ranks.*

*Section F* It is necessary for thee, O Alexander, to select writers of thine orders [rolls], a thing which is the clearest index of the extent of thine intellect and the efficacy of thine understanding, and the opportunity for those virtues through which thou mayest become worthy of the name of good government among all thy nobles.<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of speech is the soul, and words the body, and writing the ornament. Therefore, as it is proper for a living rational being to be possessed of a good form and ornament, so p. 147 it is necessary to employ such writers as would make use of perfect meanings and put them in beautiful words well written.<sup>3</sup> And as the scribe is thy confidant in secret matters he ought to be trustworthy, honest, acquainted with thy intentions and with the consequences of thy affairs. He should be sincerely thy well-wisher and faithful to thy interests. If it is not so he will destroy thee. It is also necessary that thou shouldst keep an eye on his doings, lest some extraneous matter come into thy books. Thou shouldst favour him according to his faithfulness and painstaking in thy interests, and give him the rank of one free-born, whose fortune or misfortune is bound up with thine.

<sup>1</sup> In *W* this is a part of Discourse IV.

<sup>2</sup> And for thy letters which are the strongest proof of the extent of thy intelligence and understanding, and thy intention to those that read them) thou must choose a man who will not put thee in a position of blame in anything thou doest or thinkest, for these are the qualities by virtue of which thou art held worthy of the name of sovereignty by the world *W*.

<sup>3</sup> Thy scribes are thy presence and thy majesty. The kings of old gloried in their scribes, and they became distinguished and reached their high station only through their scribes. And right as he interprets thy will and takes heed of thy secrets and spreads thy glory through the whole world, so must thou protect his interests according to the service which he does to thee and after the manner in which he bears the burden of the affairs of thy kingdom. He must be unto thee as a part of thyself, his prosperity be thy prosperity, his loss thy loss. And if it is possible to make thy wazir to be thy secretary, then do so, for it will raise higher his state and thy state and will add privacy to thy deliberations and thy secret things *W*.

## ¹ DISCOURSE VI.

*On his ambassadors, their qualities, and the policy to be observed Section G  
in sending them.*

KNOW, O Alexander, may God help thee to the right, that the messenger is a proof of the wisdom of his sender. He is his eye in what he sees not himself, his ear in what he hears not in person, and his tongue in speaking for him in his absence. Therefore it is necessary that thou shouldst choose such men of thy court who are perfect in wisdom, judgement, dignity, appearance, and honesty, and who are beyond all suspicion. And when thou hast found a man of this sort, employ him as thy messenger, entrust him with thy message, and confide in him after that he knows thy desire. <sup>2</sup> And give him no further orders, since thou hast already examined his intelligence, eloquence and honesty, for probably he will discover the right course by himself. But if he be not possessed of these qualities, then let him be a trustworthy and faithful man, who will not add to or take from thy message, who will remember thy advice and carefully note what he hears both when receiving his message and its answer.

And if thou canst not find even such a one, then let him be a man possessed at least of faithfulness, who will deliver thy message in the right quarter and bring back to thee its answer. And if thou seest in thy messenger any greed of gain from the p. <sup>148</sup> place where thou wantest to send him, do not employ him, <sup>3</sup> for probably he will sacrifice thy interest for his own gain.

And do not employ one who drinks wine. Because the Persians used to press an ambassador to drink on his arrival to them. And if he did so, they knew that his state secrets would be revealed to them. And they used to offer him much wealth, which, if he took, they knew that his kingdom was in their hands.

And beware, O Alexander, of sending thy wazir on an embassy, and thus giving him an opportunity of leaving thy presence; for verily in it there lies the corruption of thy state. And all the qualities required for ambassadors that I have enumerated above

<sup>1</sup> This is Discourse V in *II*, headed ‘On Messengers’, and comes after the next discourse.

<sup>2</sup> And do not give him orders as to the future, for it is possible that when he comes to it, the right thing to do will be otherwise *II*.

<sup>3</sup> for the money will not be given him for thy profit but thy hurt *II*.

depend on trustworthiness and faithfulness. <sup>1</sup> And if these are wanting he will betray thee on the receipt of presents and bribes ; he will commit perfidy in the duties thou hast entrusted to him ; and thine administration will suffer in proportion to his treachery.

## <sup>2</sup> DISCOURSE VII.

*On the superintendents of his subjects and their taxes.*

*Section H* THOU hast known, O Alexander, that the subject is thy treasury, which is safe from extinction and certain of perpetuity, and by which thy government is established. Therefore consider thy people as a garden in which there are many trees, and do not consider it as a harvest which is to be gained only once in a year and has to be re-sown in the next year. [Because trees of standing roots have not to be sown every year, except in rare cases. Therefore thine own position depends upon the state of thy exchequer, for it is the support of thy state and sovereignty (B. C.).]

p. 149

And, as the subject is thy treasure and the means of the existence of thy state, it is necessary for thee to cherish them, to consult their interests, and to prevent them from such things as are harmful to them. And do not appoint any overseer of their lives and properties except one who is well acquainted with their affairs, who is independent, trustworthy, honest, and faithful : who would pick for thee their fruits without destroying the trees : who is clement, patient, and forbearing, because if he is not so, he will repel men and corrupt pure minds.

And do not employ too many superintendents to administer thy revenues, lest it may produce corruption. Because each one will wish to prevail against his fellow by corruption, and seek to benefit at the expense of the people and collect taxes for his own aggrandisement, and favour such as help him in his position and assist him in his falsehood, <sup>3</sup> and God knoweth best.

<sup>1</sup> For the messenger without these qualities will betray thee by taking money and gifts and will deceive thee in the object of his mission ; you will suffer loss in your affairs according to this treachery, therefore keep in mind this point and you shall be safe, if it please God *W.*

<sup>2</sup> This is headed in *W*: 'Discourse on the Subjects', and is the last section of Discourse IV.

<sup>3</sup> so that loss will result to thee *W*.

## ¹ DISCOURSE VIII.

*On the policy regarding the officers of his army and the soldiers. Section I*

O ALEXANDER, armies are the essence of state and the glory of the empire. And thy sovereignty depends upon the method thou employest in arranging thine army, which should be such that thou shouldst remain acquainted with the affairs of all of them whether far or near, and it should be easy for thee to know p. 150 their number, and to call<sup>2</sup> any number thou wantest without delay or confusion. The least number of the chief officers should be four. Verily I have said 'four' because there are four<sup>3</sup> points of the earth: back, front, right, and left, and so are there four cardinal points: north, south, east, and west. Therefore appoint an officer to each point. But if thou wantest more, let there be ten. Because ten is the perfection of four, since in the number four there is one, two, three, four, which when added gives ten, so that it is the perfect number, which is comprehended by four.

And let each one of the officers (Amīrs) have under him ten sub-officers (nakibs), each of whom, in his turn, should have under him ten other officers (kā'ids), and each kā'id ten 'arīfs, and each 'arīf ten privates. All of these make a hundred thousand warriors. So when thou wishest to guard one direction with ten thousand men order all the sub-officers (nakibs) with ten kā'ids each, i.e. 100; and draft with each kā'id ten 'arīfs, i.e. 1,000; and draft with each 'arīf ten privates, i.e. 10,000. And when thou wishest one hundred men order only a single kā'id, and let there be drafted with him ten 'arīfs, each having ten men under him, which amounts to one hundred. And if thou wantest only ten men thou hast to order a single 'arīf, and let there be drafted with him ten men.

Thus thy labour will be lessened and time saved for other p. 151 affairs. As every one has to look after ten men only, there is less

<sup>1</sup> Discourse six, 'on soldiers' *W.* Book VIII *H.*

<sup>2</sup> Alexander, the knights are the best part of the kingdom and the glory of the dynasty, and it is meet to lean on the pleasing ornament and the excellent order in the degrees of knights, so that nothing that is nigh or far concerning them should be unknown to thee, for thou wilt be able to call without any difficulty *W.*

<sup>3</sup> winds and four *W.*

confusion in the forces, their duties are simplified, and thine own business is kept well arranged.

There is also necessary for an army a prudent, learned, trustworthy, and honest writer,<sup>1</sup> skilful in discernment in order that no error may arise in the army in distributing their allowances, whereby their minds should be corrupted. And when thou hast come to know anything of that kind in him remove him from them. Let his dismissal be done before them publicly so that they may know why he has been dismissed. The writer should, moreover, be good natured and easy of access. He should not be irascible and should not employ himself in any other occupation except that of serving their interests.

Thou must also possess the instrument which is needed by kings in peace and war, and wealth, whether thou movest or remainest still.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> who knows the characters of the men and is proved in chivalry, and who will not suffer that they be corrupted by gifts, thereby destroying their allegiance. *W.*

<sup>2</sup> *C* and *D* read : And it is necessary that there should be with thee the instrument which has been invented by Yayastayus for frightening [the enemy]. It is a dread-producing machine which is used for various purposes. Because whenever thou needest to warn all the country and to collect thy forces for battle or for fortification, or any other necessary purpose, and the soldiers are heavy in moving, its sound will be heard for sixty miles. Its shape is this : (*diagram*).

And it needs that there be a watchman over them to bring them to reverence and honour thee. They must not be allowed to approach thee too closely when they come to pay homage to thee. Do not give them access to speak with thee either in public or in private, for that may be a cause for them to be frivolous and hold thee lightly, as it happened to Blstus (Tamstius H.) the king and other kings.

Accustom them to bring their likes and dislikes before thee in writing. They should be forwarded to thee by men who are close to thee and who are worthy of that high station. And decide everything in presence of thy wazir and secretary, and to those that deserve consideration ratify it on the back of his letter, for thereby thou shovest honour to the petitioner, and he will glory in it hereafter ; and he will become more strongly attached to thy service, and strengthened in his allegiance to thee. But what is not worthy of consideration then leave it. And give them a banquet on certain occasions and on festivals, for they consider it a very great honour, and thou art loved by them on that account *IV.*

## ¹ DISCOURSE IX.

*The conduct of wars, their strategies, and how to avoid their evil consequences ; the order to be observed in meeting the enemy, and Section K the chosen times for doing so.*

O ALEXANDER, do not take part in battles in person, and let the p. 152 great dignitaries of thy court be always in thy attendance, and do not follow the example of the foolish in bringing together thy men.<sup>2</sup> For verily I swear by God, that whenever two kings have come together, one of them has planned some stratagem or other for the undoing of the other. This exists in human nature. Therefore think of what Cain did to Abel his brother. And it is certain that envy and the love of worldly possessions led him to do that.

And know, O Alexander, that war has a body and a soul, and its very existence depends upon two contending opposites. The soul of these two contending forces is the belief of victory entertained by each one of the two parties, and their body is the meeting of the two armies. And no sooner does one of the parties lose its faith in its own success than the war dies. And it continues as long as each party entertains hopes of overcoming the other. Therefore let thy efforts be directed towards rousing the zeal of thy troops and impressing upon them that thou wilt be successful and that thou hast proofs thereof. Show it to them by learned arguments whereby their souls may be strengthened.

Talk to them familiarly and promise them gifts and rewards, p. 153 which thou must perform in time.<sup>3</sup>

And know that thou fightest either in aggression or self-defence. Therefore if thou meetest one who has invaded thee,<sup>4</sup> let thy efforts be directed towards securing a strong defence, well fortified with instruments of war, watch-keepers, and scouts who should keep up a look-out night and day. Let thy camp be against the side of a mountain, or be situated close to it, and let there be plenty of water and provisions in it, although they mayest not need them..

<sup>1</sup> Discourse on wars *W.* Book IX *H.*

<sup>2</sup> Do not undertake war alone ; you have need of the great in thy court, and do not meet kings *W.*

<sup>3</sup> and threaten the timid and show courage *W.*

<sup>4</sup> Do not set thy camp in an open field or in a narrow and enclosed place.

And if thou settest thy camp and that of thy followers in an open field, then try to protect thyself with all kinds of arms *W.*

And let there be plenty of frightening and terrific sound-producing instruments,<sup>1</sup> for verily they will inspire thy men with courage and those of thy enemy with fear. And let thy army be clad in different kinds of armour—some of them in mail shirts, others in cuirasses, and some in horse-armour. And when thou sendest out a detachment to meet the enemy, send with them the artistic images, wooden battlements with archers inside them, and incendiary machines. They will help to inspire thy men with confidence and thy enemies with fear, and they will pelt thy enemies with arrows and fire.

Draw up thy army in the order we have described before, and put thy swordmen and wrestlers on the right hand, and the spear-men on the left, and thy javelin throwers, archers, throwers of fire, producers of frightening noises, and makers of various motions in the centre. And let this force occupy a raised ground overlooking the enemy. Thus they shall have to look up at thee, and watch thee, and, knowing that thou art watching all their movements, they shall fear thee.

Thou shouldst watch thy<sup>‡</sup> enemy attentively, and when thou seest disorder in any part of the enemy's forces direct thy attack on that part. And use firmness,<sup>2</sup> which is a great help. Verily very few armies have been defeated in ancient times except by losing heart and giving way to fear. Employ numbers of men to lie in ambush<sup>3</sup> and produce frightening noises. It is a means of giving an exaggerated opinion of the number of thy forces and of inspiring thy men with joy and courage.

p. 154 Thou shouldst make use of covered pitfalls and slippery ditches in the path of the enemy whenever they are found necessary, for wars are carried on by stratagem, and keep away thy own men from them.<sup>4</sup> And keep with thee many beasts of burden<sup>5</sup> of Khurāsān, for they frighten the horses, and they will form a refuge in the time of need.

<sup>1</sup> instruments which cause dread and trembling, which I made for thee when thou didst engage in battle against Nahalah (Blhh. H.) the Indian. When they heard those frightful noises their hearts quaked, the horses ran away, and thy victory was due to this. It is needful that thou dost control the army so that thou knowest what is good for them and what is bad, for when they perceive it they will be careful and fear thee *W.*

<sup>2</sup> act with deliberation *W.*

<sup>3</sup> with fire *W.*

<sup>4</sup> Make thee those terrible instruments called Almhavi in some countries where thou wapest war, and protect thy cavalry from them *W.*

<sup>5</sup> pack horses and elephants *W.*

And if thou art laying siege to thy enemy use heavy stone-throwing machines, as catapults and slings, and make use of poisoned arrows. And if thou gettest possession of their watering place poison it, and undermine their fortifications. And be on thy guard against night attacks, for it is a matter to beware of. By means of night attacks armies are routed, and wealth, arms, and beasts are plundered.<sup>1</sup>

And do not pursue a defeated enemy to a long distance, for it is an act of treachery and cruelty. And, if thou canst, let all thy affairs be strategic and cunning, and let fighting be thy last resource. To do so is more prudent for the safety of honour and position, and for the preservation of thy army. The Indians are possessed of cunning and treachery in war, and they have no bravery.<sup>2</sup> And the Scythians have determination but no power, and the Dailamites can strike heavily, but are low-spirited and have no courage. And the Turks are possessed of great courage and much stupidity, but are suitable for war. Therefore employ plenty of them and keep them nearest thy person of all thy troops. And thou shouldst pit against each of the nation soldiers of their own kind.<sup>3</sup> And do not let a small mattter grow great, but settle it before it attains importance. And let all thy affairs, public or private, be guided by the approval of astrology, as I have men- p. 155 tioned before.

O Alexander, when thou intendest to tie thy standards, let it be *Section L* done in the ascendant of the sign Leo, and let the moon and its friend be sound (auspicious). And let the moon be in a good position in the ascendant. And let the lord of the ascendant be in one of the houses of Mars. And let the moon be overlooked by Mars from the third house. See that every work thou desirest p. 156 is naturally in accordance with the planets and their houses, and see that the planets and signs connected with the nature [of the work] are auspicious, for this is the chief matter. Remember

<sup>1</sup> And if thou assailest castles make thee the weapon which I have invented for thee, that throws stones from afar and destroys the buildings, and throws down the walls, and make as many of them as thou standest in need of. And they are, namely, catapults and instruments that shoot poisoned arrows, and battering rams, and place upon them the bows and screws, for it terrifies stout hearts and shakes castles. If thou seizest their water, pour into it deadly poison, and guard against it thyself, for it is necessary to be exceeding careful *W.*

<sup>2</sup> no evil befalls them *W.*

<sup>3</sup> Therefore fight with each of them in the manner that is convenient *W.*

prudence and resolve and obedience if thou wouldest be rightly guided. If thou desirest this, make the ascendant the road, and the seventh (house) the town and place thou journeyest to, and the tenth (house) the object of thy journey, and the stake of the earth its result.

Beware of starting on a journey when the moon is unlucky, or under the rays, or in the sixth or twelfth. Also beware of Mercury being under the rays of the sun or in retrograde. But when it is auspiciously in the ascendant it is a sign of success. Especially if it is Jupiter, and it is in the middle of the sky, it predicts the fulfilment of the object and its completion. And if it is in the seventh house, it foretells the success of the action, joy and happiness, and attainment of the object. And if it is in the stake of the earth, it prophesies a completion of the matter and a good result. But beware of the moon being in the act of coming out of the house fourth to the sun. And if thou findest auspicious planets overlooking the sun from the fourth house thou shalt soon return safe and successful.

And if thou startest on war, let the lord of the ascendant be in the house of Mars, in the middle of the sky, and let Mars be overlooking it with a friendly aspect. Let Jupiter be in the fourth house, and let the moon be good, for it is in all journeys the most potent sign.

#### *Section M*

#### *On the Victorious and the Defeated.<sup>1</sup>*

An indispensable thing for thee, O Alexander, is this, that thou shouldst find out the name of the person thou art going to fight with, and do not engage in battle unless victory can be computed. This is one of my secrets which I used to practise when I was in thy royal company, concealing it from thee, and which I am now disclosing to thee, according to our covenant. It is one of those mysterious sciences which God has inspired me with and directed me to, through His mercy and wisdom.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ‘Discourse on the numbers of the victorious and the defeated’ *W.* Book X *H.*

<sup>2</sup> Know, O Alexander, this is the secret which I made for thee when thou didst go forth against thy enemies to battle, and when thou didst send thy servants. And this is one of the Divine secrets with which the Lord has entrusted me; I have tried its truth and proved its use, and I have profited by it. Thou hast asked after it and I hid it from thee and gave thee only the benefit of it. Now I show it to thee on condition that thou mayest not reveal it but act upon it only, and thou wilt never fail, and it [the secret]

ا A (1). ب B (2). ج J (3). د D (4). ه H (5). و W (6). ز Z (7).  
 ح H (8). ط T (9).  
 ي Y (10). ك K (20). ل L (30). م M (40). ن N (50). س S (60).  
 ع (70). ف F (80). ص S (90).  
 ق Q (100). ر R (200). ش SH (300). ت T (400). ث TH (500).  
 خ KH (600). ذ DH (700). ض D (800). ظ Z (900).  
 غ (1,000).<sup>1</sup>

O Alexander, count the numbers of the letters of the names of the commanders of both the armies, according to the above table. Then divide the total of each name by 9, and keep in thy mind the remainder of each. If the number is divided equally and nothing remain then take 9 for the remainder. Then predict according to the following table, which is correct and unfailing, and do thou note it well.<sup>2</sup>

If the remainders are 1 and 9, 1 will overcome 9. If 1 and 8, eight beats one, 1 and 7, one beats, 1 and 6, six beats, 1 and 5, one beats, 1 and 4, four beats, 1 and 3, one beats, 1 and 2, two beats, 1 and 1, the aggressor wins.

#### Second Table.

If 2 and 9 are left, the 9 shall be victorious. If 2 and 8, two will overcome the eight, 2 and 7, seven will overcome the two, 2 and 6, two will overcome the six, 2 and 5, five will overcome the two, 2 and 4, two will overcome the four, 2 and 3, three will overcome the two, 2 and 2, the aggressor shall be victorious, 2 and 1, f. 57 two shall overcome the one.

is that thou goest not to fight thine enemy until thou hast found by this calculation that thou art sure to conquer. And if it be not advantageous to thee, then calculate the names of thy servants, and appoint over the army only the one who according to these calculations is sure to win. And in such manner shalt thou reckon: get the sum of the names of the generals. And of thy name, keep the sum of each of them, then from the sum-total of each of these names subtract as many nines as it contains, and put aside the remainder under nine that is left, and thus proceed with the second name; whatever remains less than nine, or nine, of the second put also aside. Then look at the table which I have written for thee, and compare it with the remainder of the sums of the two names: what thou findest therein believe, for it is true, and by the help of the Lord thou shalt never be led astray *W*.

<sup>1</sup> The numeral values are inserted by the translator.

<sup>2</sup> table, and thou shalt find the matter as I have mentioned to you, if God will *W*.

## Third Table.

If 3 and 9 are left, three shall win, 3 and 8 are left, eight shall win, 3 and 7 are left, three shall win, 3 and 6 left, six shall win, 3 and 5 left, three shall win, 3 and 4 left, four shall win, 3 and 3, the aggressor shall win.

## Fourth Table.

If 4 and 9 are left, nine shall win, 4 and 8 are left, four shall win, 4 and 7 left, seven shall win, 4 and 6 left, four shall win, 4 and 5 left, five shall win, 4 and 4 left, the aggressor shall win.<sup>1</sup>

## Fifth Table.

If 5 and 9 are left, five shall win, 5 and 8 left, eight shall win, 5 and 7 left, five shall win, 5 and 6 left, six shall win, 5 and 5, the aggressor shall win.

## Sixth Table.

If 6 and 9 are left, nine shall win, 6 and 8 left, eight shall win, 6 and 7 left, seven shall win, 6 and 6 left, the aggressor shall win.<sup>1</sup>

## Seventh Table.

If 7 and 9 are left, seven shall win, 7 and 8 left, eight shall win, 7 and 7, the aggressor shall win.

## Eighth Table.

If 8 and 9 are left, nine shall win, if 8 and 8 are left, the aggressor shall win.<sup>1</sup>

## Ninth Table.

If nine are left in both, the aggressor shall win.

Therefore study this science, O Alexander, and practise it according to thy wisdom and understanding. Thou shalt be victorious and successful, if God wishes.

## Section N

## DISCOURSE X.

p. 157 <sup>2</sup> On Talismans. On the secrets of Astrology, winning of hearts, and the virtues of stones, plants, &c.

O ALEXANDER, thou hast understood from what I have previously written to you more than once that the essence of the

<sup>1</sup> the challenged beats the challenger *W*.

<sup>2</sup> *W* reads: 'The discourse on special arts and natural secrets, and the properties of precious stones and pearls'.

Thou knowest already, from that which I have mentioned hitherto unto thee, and of what I have repeated unto thee over and over again, that the

whole world, low or high, near or far, is one and the same. There is no variety in its substance, but there is variety in its accidents. And its existence depends upon images and forms. Hence there is no variety in itself, but there is a great variety in its forms. Therefore the first variety which thou seest in the physical world essence of all that is in this whole world, above and below, the near and the far, are one without difference in their essence; the difference is merely an accident which is divided into form and appearance. And since the substance does not change, the cause of the change lies outside it, and the whole material world which thou seest consists of four substances, and these are the four elements, and out of these are then born the mineral, vegetable, and animal worlds, and the moving agent is the sphere that surrounds them all. Each of them is subdivided into smaller sections, which are species and kins. If I should attempt to explain or to mention them all, it would take me too long, nor is this the object of my book. For my real object therein is to fulfil my promise, and to tell thee some of the riddles of this great secret. Now that I have explained it to thee in what precedes, thou art sure to know and to find that my word is true. I will now mention unto thee the virtues of precious stones, for they may prove to be of great benefit unto thee with the help of God, for it is needful that thou know them.

The stone Bazhar (bezoar). This is a Persian name, and means 'averts misfortune', others say it means 'tightens the wind'. It is of a two-fold colour, one yellow like a piece of wax, and the other olive-green with green streaks, looking like a sallow piece of leather: this is the best, and it is dug up in the land of China. It is said that it is found also in the poison of snakes. Its property is that it protects against all manner of poisons, of beasts, plants, and minerals, and of the bite and sting of insects. He who drinks of it twelve grains weight will be saved from death, and the poison will pass out in the sweat. He who puts it in a ring on his hand will be reverenced by the people and by all who behold him. If it be ground to powder and strewn on the bite of a reptile it will draw the poison out, and even should the place have started to putrefy it will still be healed; and if there be ground of the powder two barley corns weight, and melt and throw it into the mouth of vipers and reptiles, it will suffocate and kill them. And if some of it is hung round the neck of a child it becomes proof against epilepsy and any other evil occurrence; it saves it from bad accidents.

The pearl. There are three kinds, red, yellow, and black, and it is the most splendid of its kind. He who sets in his ring or hangs round his neck any of these three kinds of pearls, and comes into a town where there is plague, no illness that happened to the inhabitants shall touch him. Whosoever puts on his hands a ring with a red pearl in it will be courageous and much honoured in the eyes of the people. Whosoever engraves on it the likeness of a lion and the constellation Leo with the sun inside, and the rays darting out afar, none will overcome him and his affairs will be easy to him . . .

(cetera desunt in *IV*. The remainder is probably §§ 132, 134, and 135 of Gaster's version).

is of four kinds, i. e. the four elements, and of those things which are created from them, viz. the mineral, vegetable, and the animal kingdoms. And every physical body in the universe has its prototype in the spiritual world, the latter being the cause of the existence of the former, and ruler over it.

Hence all physical forms are governed by their relative heavenly bodies. This law of nature has given rise to the science of talismans. These ethereal bodies are fixed in the heavenly spheres, and the seven governing planets reflect their forms in their own lights, as the eye and polished bodies reflect the forms and images of material objects, and thence they cast down their shadows p. 158 towards the earth according to the decree of their Painter and Maker. Then everything in the mineral, vegetable, or animal kingdom is stamped with those types of which it is capable.

And know that everything receives a perfect or an imperfect stamp of those heavenly types according to the duration of its exposure to it. And the influence of the heavenly type thus remaining on the earth is used in making Talismans.

The best Talisman is that of Saturn, who is the Elder and the father of all other planets. Next to it is that of Jupiter who is the sage of the heavens. Next to it is that of the smaller luminary (moon) who is swift of motion and master of many wonders. And let thy observation be made at a time when its light is not cut by its vicinity to the other planets, and its rays auspicious, if the talisman is made for the good of anything, and otherwise if it is prepared for the ill of any one. And I shall give thee an example of it which is indispensable for thee. And I shall explain to thee the method of procedure, God willing.

And know that those who are endowed with clear intellect and good memory for acquiring knowledge, and who can find out the hidden through that which is apparent to them, having reached to hidden truths of this deep and mysterious science, they observed extreme caution and miserliness in communicating it to others, although it is of such a universal benefit. They did so from the p. 159 fear that they may come to share this knowledge with those who did not possess sufficient understanding for it, and because God's wisdom has decreed that His gifts should not be equally divided among His creatures. But, thanks to God, thou art not one of those who are debarred from knowing these mysteries, but thou art fully worthy of it. And when one desires something he seeks

it, and he who seeks (and labours) deserves success, either by his reaching his object or his object coming to him.

How many secrets and mysteries, partial and universal, there are in this world ! People pass by them turning their faces away from them, without seeing them or understanding them ! It is because their minds are bent on something else and their objects are different. Now I am going to inform thee of those things which thou canst perceive in this world with thy senses. They are of two classes, matter and form. Form continually exists without increase or diminution. But matter does not exist at all times. You see only the forms of animals, vegetables, and minerals externally existent. They never grow more or less. It is only matter of which they are composed in various combinations of the elements<sup>1</sup> that is not constant ; while matter may be massed together or diffused, form remains permanent and changeless.

And the cause of the permanence of forms is the reflection of their types from the planets as mentioned before.<sup>2</sup> But this reflection too undergoes continual changes according to the p. 160 motions of its planet. And their continuance depends upon their increasing action on matter. And the motions, powers, and actions of those forms are according to the temperaments of their planets.<sup>3</sup> And the property that prevails most on the actions of the forms shall also prevail most on the temperaments of their bodies, as God has willed it.

Therefore it is necessary for thee, according to what I have said and explained, that thou shouldest know the motions of the celestial sphere, and its signs and planets [and the fixed and retrograde stars and the signs of Sagittarius, Pisces, Gemini, and Virgo (B)]. And that thou shouldest know the various spiritual bodies working on the signs and the planets. And that thou shouldest know the

<sup>1</sup> *B* reads (after ‘combinations of the elements’) : of familiar and contrary parts, which are continually composing and decomposing.

<sup>2</sup> *B* reads (after ‘from the planets as mentioned before’) : For the planets are continually undergoing changes of conditions and never stay in one condition. Therefore it is evident what I have told thee, that celestial forms are reflected in the lights of the planets which are intermediaries between them and the elements.

‘And thence those forms are reflected on the elements which receive their impressions according to their capabilities (and their continuance depends, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> *B* adds: and their climate.

motions of the seven planets and of the head and tail of the dragon. And that thou shouldst know all about their conjunction, moving forward, aspect of one another from the third house, fourth house, and the sixth house, their ascendancies, and descendancies, their limits and directions, and how they happen to agree and disagree among themselves. How they receive light or reject it.

Thou must particularly know how to find out the correct nativity with or without an astrolabe. And thou shouldst know  
 f. 60 A the stakes and the stars on their right and left. How long it takes a planet to pass through a sign, its middle and the direction of its rays. Thou must know all this with extreme correctness and observation. Thou shalt be mostly concerned with the hours of the rising of auspicious planets, their length and breadth, rising and setting.

And when thou hast known all this, together with what has been taught to thee before about the knowledge of minerals and  
 p. 161 vegetables, their connexions with the planets, and the knowledge of the relationship of each part of the body of the physical objects, mineral, vegetable or animal, with the planets, thou shalt know that everybody is ascribed to one planet generally and to several planets partially. Man, for instance, is ascribed to the Sun,<sup>1</sup> but in detail his head also is related to the Sun. Similarly minerals are related to Saturn, and specifically lead is also related to the same planet. Likewise every organism and every member of it.

Therefore when thou desirest to bind those spiritual, living and potent powers to these compound bodies, and thou knowest already the connexions of the latter with the planets in general and detail, thou shouldst find out its nativity, and the nativity required for thy purpose, the governing spirit of that nativity.

Let Saturn be confronting it or looking at it with the aspect of friendship. And let the direction of its rays be towards the country thou art in. And never commit an error in thy operation.  
 p. 162 Let the moon be adjacent to the head and tail of the dragon and auspicious to thy work.

Then fix the heavenly form of nativity to its relative body. Then thou shalt see from its action and powers what will astonish and please thee, if God wishes.

<sup>1</sup> B reads: the Moon.

And, O Alexander, this is a Talisman that endows one with sovereignty and dignity. It secures the submission and obedience of the people and inspires enemies with fear and trembling. It afflicts enemies with sickness. It creates love and hatred, and does many other wonders too numerous to relate and describe in detail. It possesses a potent virtue of warding off evils and harms. I shall explain it to thee according to what the greatest philosophers and mighty men in deed and position have entrusted me with. And I have buried its knowledge among the secrets of the earth and hidden mysteries. And I have never revealed it to any one. And I find thee worthy of learning this great secret. Therefore be happy and truly guided by it, God willing.

Take the substance of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the moon in equal parts, and add to them the essence of the highest one of them, i. e. Saturn, equal to the weight of all. Add a quantity of gold proportionate to its intermediate relationship. Let the ascendant at the time of the operation be Leo, and let the Sun be in the thirteenth degree from Aries, in strength, ascendancy, and overlooking it. Let Saturn be in Aquarius, and let the Moon be sound, and in the third degree from Taurus. Let Jupiter be with Sagittarius, Mars in Virgo, Venus in Taurus, and Mercury in Virgo or in its ascendancy. But the best time that can be desired is when the Moon is in conjunction with the Sun, and Jupiter is in some good and agreeable situation. If possible let it be when Jupiter is at its height and strength and Saturn looking at it with a benign aspect, and each one of them should be throwing its look upon another (i. e. its rays) after receiving light. And beware of the time when the master of the middle of the heavens should be of a weak light. And let the fixed stars be in the degrees of their auspiciousness.

When all the above conditions have been complied with, gather together all the substances by melting them on Thursday morning in the hour of Jupiter. Then make out of it a signet ring. Inlay it with a square piece of red ruby and engrave upon it the image of a lion with a black man riding on it. Let there be a standard in his hand, and let him have two wings, and a crown on his head. Let there be in front of him six men without beards and having wings like some kind of birds.

Having done all that wear that ring on thy finger, for in it there lies all the benefits enumerated above. Verily herein I have

given thee away the greatest secret. May God help thee to preserve it, and may He guide thee to its true knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

And know, O Alexander, that I am going to impart to thee a secret of divine knowledge which has been strictly guarded and preserved, and regarding the secrecy and inviolability of which sages and philosophers have taken mutual promises and oaths, in order that it may not fall into the hands of a weaver, horse-doctor, blacksmith, and carpenter who may cause corruption in the earth, and destroy agriculture and procreation. Take the egg that is created in the air, and hatch it under a white bird. There shall come out of it a chicken. Slaughter it. Out of it there shall flow red, white, and yellow blood. The red blood will be of thy purpose and will produce the result of the operation. And the talisman is this :—

(cabalistic signs).

Having written it thus, leave it. And when it is the night of Mercury fumigate it with a triple incense consisting of ingredients related to air and fire, and go around it calling out the names of Mercury. And they are :

(a list in cabalistic signs).

And when it is the night of Jupiter fumigate it with a quadruple incense composed of animal, mineral, and vegetable substances, and go around it seven times calling out the names of Jupiter. And they are :

(cabalistic signs).

And when it is the night of Venus fumigate it with an incense of fine ingredients, and go around it seven times, calling out the names of Venus. And they are :

(cabalistic signs).

And when it is the night of Saturn fumigate it with transparent, vegetable, fiery and liquid aloes (or incense). Go around it seven times invoking Saturn by its names. And they are :

(cabalistic signs).

Fumigate it for the rest of the night, then leave it aside. And when it is the night of Thursday disclose it to the stars, and fumigate it with an incense composed of the seven ingredients mentioned before. Go around it (while fumigating it) 49 times,

<sup>1</sup> pp. 258<sup>3</sup>-259<sup>24</sup> only in *B.*

and call out, at the end of every week, the name of a certain planet. Then call out the names of the Sun. And they are:

(cabalistic signs).

And when thou hast completed all this verily the kingdom of the world will be thine.

And the sign of it to thee will be the coming of the spirits to thee in thy sleep, and their informing thee of the acceptance of thy operation (and the success of thy work).

And when thou desirest to call the operation (into action) fast that day, and break thy fast (at the end of the day) with some food that is not usual with thee. Then sleep on thy left side and hang the signet ring round thy neck opposite to thy heart. And call upon the spirit to show thee (in dreams) what thou hopest for.

Then thou shalt see some one whom thou canst consult either in person or power. Then disclose to him thy object. He will guide thee to it.

And whenever this signet ring is borne around the neck by the general of an army, who invokes Mars at all times, he never meets with an opponent without routing him and becoming victorious. And whenever any man holds it he acquires honour and power.

And thou, O Alexander, needest no other charm except this one alone. Therefore I am not giving thee any other (in detail). Make use of it in all thy affairs. May God the Mighty help and guide thee).<sup>1</sup>

And the wonders of Talismans, O Alexander, are many. If there had been no other Talisman than that of Zarzoori which is made of the down of olives, and which was invented by Hermes the great, it would have sufficed. Thus Rome, which has no olives, is the most abundant in them of God's lands, without planting trees, having gardens, or undergoing any pain or weariness.

Then there is the Talisman invented by Balbas or Arinush the King of Persia. When a tempestuous wind blows sufficient almost to destroy men (this talisman) will silence it, (if God the Almighty permit).

There is another well-known Talisman which extinguishes fire, and no one can kindle the fire again till they ask help of it.

And the Talisman I had made for thee for the destruction of

<sup>1</sup> pp. 259<sup>25</sup>-260<sup>27</sup> only in C.

serpents, scorpions, leopards, and other deadly and harmful animals. It was so efficacious that no venomous beast or reptile was to be found in the land where thou didst chance to be.

And when thou didst desire to invade India, and the Indians had formed a barrier between thee and themselves, I rent the earth and destroyed their ramparts without any harm coming to thee (by permission of God the Almighty).

And the mirror I have fixed for thee at Alexandria which is one of the wonders of the world. And the mirror I have established at the gate of thy palace which reveals hidden things and thefts, and in which any one can see his lost property and its situation.

And the Talisman which I have made for thy hunting. It is carried on the top of a spear in front of thee, and by its virtue wild animals come right close to thee and cannot see thee.

And the Talisman of the brazen image which I have planted for thee on the rock on the sea-shore at the town of Alexandria, to which the fish come from all directions so that they can be caught with the hand without casting nets or any other trouble. And thou hast many other wonderful things made by me which are too numerous to mention.

And thou hast seen, O Alexander, what happened to thee with regard to the Talisman which was bound for the protection of the buried treasure I told you of in the pyramid of Hayatil.<sup>1</sup> It has caused the people, whom thou hast ordered to dig it, to go to sleep, so that I made for thee a Talisman to counteract its action, and thou didst gain that treasure.

Some<sup>2</sup> historians say that there was found in this treasure, on which there was a Talisman, a tomb made of gold, whose length was 10 yards, height 2 yards, and breadth (on the top) a span. Inside the tomb there was found a coffin in which there was a corpse perfectly preserved in body, hair, and eyes. On its head there was a crown weighing 10 rati, made of a single piece of red ruby. And under the corpse there were spread large pearls of great value. On the chest of the corpse there was a tablet of emerald, 3 yards long and 1 yard wide. In it there was found the following inscription in Syriac letters:

'In the name of God the most compassionate, the most

<sup>1</sup> Hatal, name of a place beyond the Oxus.

<sup>2</sup> This episode is found only in A.

merciful. Everything that has a beginning has an end. I ruled over the four inhabited quarters of the globe for one thousand years. The total revenue of my empire in one day was equal to this tomb in weight and to its contents in value. And the Sun, Moon, and Wind used to obey me. I had found out the secret of nature, and had acquired the extreme knowledge of creation. And I ascended to the heavenly assembly with my pure spiritual essence according to the pleasure and acceptance of its maker, and I left this composite, earthly temple to corruption and annihilation. In order that one who comes after me should know that the real sovereign is one who never dies, and the true lord is He who is supreme in His power, may His name be blessed and glorified.'

Information on the sublimation of hard substances, and the *Section I<sup>o</sup>* spirits, to which belongs the eagle, one of the birds of prey. Similarly all that is in the stones which I mention to you here is according as I have described.

I am going to impart to thee here a mighty secret ; may God p. 114, l. 25 help thee to guard it and improve thee by the knowledge of it, if it be His will.

Take the animal, vegetable, and mineral stone, the stone which is neither a stone, nor has the nature of a stone, although it is created resembling some stones of mountains and mines, for it also resembles vegetables and animals. And it exists in every place and time, and with every man. And it has all colours, and p. 115 in it there are present all the elements. It is the microcosm. I shall name it to thee according to its common name. Take the egg, I mean the philosopher's egg. Divide it into four parts, each part being a nature [or element]. Then compound it equally and temperately in such a way that the various parts should join but not counteract each other. Thy object shall be fulfilled by the power and will of God. These are general directions. Now I shall give thee detailed directions. The four kinds cannot be divided except by means of an undestructive fire. When thou hast separated the water from the air, air from fire, and fire from earth, then thou hast succeeded in the method by the help of God. Then operate upon the substance of air and earth by moistening and heating until they come to resemble each other. Then they shall agree with one another and lose their opposition to one another. Then add to them the two

active forces of water and fire. The operation will be complete. Then, when thou shalt lift up the water by itself, it shall be white, and when thou shalt lift up the fire alone, it shall be red.

And truly has our ancestor Hermes Trismegistus said:

There is no doubt that the lower from the higher and the  
p. 116 higher from the lower produces wonders from one single operation.

As all things have been created from a single essence.

Whose father is the Sun and mother the Moon.

It has been impregnated with the air. The earth has sucked it from its teats.

It is the father of all talismans, the treasure of all wonders, and perfect in its powers.

And if it becomes earth, the earth is separated from fine and pure fire by means of gentle operation and wisdom.

It ascends from the earth to the heavens and descends again to the earth.

p. 117 And thus it acquires both the higher and the lower powers.

If thou possessest it thou possessest the light of all lights, and therefore darkness flees away from thee. It is the power of powers which overcomes every ethereal object.

And which penetrates through every solid object.

According to the disposition of the Mighty and the Omniscient. This is my glory, and it is for this reason that I have named Hermes Trismegistus [that maketh three] owing to the wisdom which has been revealed to me.<sup>1</sup>

*Section K* Some wonderful properties of stones, their properties and peculiarities.

p. 118 The stone which overcomes water and wind.<sup>2</sup> Thou shalt find it dry and developing in the sea. Its property is this, that when thou hast taken it, and hast tied a piece of it weighing 8 carats to thy standard, no army shall confront thy standard without being routed.

There are two other stones which are found near the perpetual darkness. One of them is white and the other red. They will be found in a river of fresh water. Their peculiarity is that the

<sup>1</sup> This section is found only in A.

<sup>2</sup> C adds: Thou shalt find it floating on the surface of water when the water is flowing, turning away with the wind, and thou shalt find it appearing in the frequented sea. Its property . . .

white one appears on the surface of the water at the setting of the sun. It remains apparent till midnight when it is fully visible. Thenceforth it begins to sink and disappear until the rising of the sun, when it completely disappears. And the red stone is its contrary. It appears at the rising of the sun, and remains apparent till midday, after which it appears and disappears until the disappearance of the sun. The property of the above two stones is this, that when thou hast hung a piece of the red stone weighing two carats on the forehead of a horse it shall not cease from neighing as long as the stone is there. And the action of the white stone is contrary to that. A horse shall never neigh as long as that stone is on his forehead. And the latter stone is useful in night attacks and ambuses. Another virtue of these two stones is this, that when two litigants come to thee, place the white one on the mouth of one of them; if he is right he shall be able to speak, otherwise he shall not be able to utter a word as long as the stone remains on his mouth.

And thou shalt know the properties of stones which I shall mention to thee.

### On Vegetables.

p. 119

Thou hast known, O Alexander, from the foregoing description, in which I have acquainted thee with the action of nature and the secret of creation, that vegetables follow minerals in existence, and they receive their forms in the same way as do minerals. As the watery element prevails in vegetables and earth in minerals, therefore vegetables receive their forms in the same way as water does when its surface is moved by the wind, but its centre remains unmoved. If thou wert to blow upon a drop of water it shall be elongated and split up and its centre will remain. Then, according to the laws of the drop, from being round it shall become, when stretched, triangular, like the shape of some herbs, or square or pentangular, or any other of the shapes found in vegetables.

And as the prevailing element in vegetables is water, the heavenly force related to it, namely Jupiter, is ever engaged in dissolving water. In short every planet creates that which resembles it. Saturn creates earth, Jupiter water, Mars air, and the Sun fire. And the planets do not produce their bodies, but only their actions which belong to them perpetually by the help of the universal power which is above the powers of these heavenly

bodies. But in order to make it more plain I must explain to thee a little more regarding the properties of these vegetables.

p. 120 For it is in the knowledge of the properties of things that philosophers are distinguished from one another, as it is in the knowledge of the action of their natures that physicians vie with one another.

And I inform thee, O Alexander, that all those vegetables which do not blossom belong to Saturn, and those which do blossom are related to Jupiter.<sup>1</sup> Then these kinds are mixed one with another; hence there are some which bear fruit without blossoming as the date tree, which is related to Saturn and the Sun conjointly. And those that do not bear fruit but blossom, they are related to Jupiter and Mars.

There are others which are planted, others sown, and others grow up without either planting or sowing. Hence it is apparent from what I have said that every vegetable possesses a property matching the power of a planet. And the originals of those properties are the powers that endow them with their specific attributes as colour, taste, smell, and form. And the universal soul arranges in order these properties, powers, and natures, because they are its particulars. And it fixes them and sustains them for the time of their being. Know that there can be no action without movement, and no knowledge without limits.

Therefore (may God lead thee to the right path!), find out the kind of vegetable which causes sickness, and the kind that removes sickness, and the kind that creates joy, and the kind that creates sorrow, and the one that makes one loved, and the one that causes one to be despised and hated,<sup>2</sup> and the one that produces true dreams, and the one that produces merriment, and the one that produces sloth and languor, and the one that destroys the body entirely, and the one that cures it and frees it from hurtful poisons. And I shall explain to thee in detail so that thou mayest understand it more clearly.

The kind of vegetable that causes dignity and honour is a tree which possesses folded leaves of a conical form. Its fruit also resembles a cone, and its branches are green, and its smell is

<sup>1</sup> C inserts: And all those that blossom but do not yield fruit are ascribed to Mars, and those that bear fruit belong to the Sun.

<sup>2</sup> C inserts: and the kind whose bearer acquires dignity and honour and the other whose bearer acquires contempt and disgrace . . .

fragrant. Whoever plucks it in his own name and holds it in his hand acquires dignity and honour. It is also useful for insect bites.

There is another herb that stands on a long stem, and has long p. 122 and soft leaves with white stripes in them. Upon him who carries its slender stem it works the same effect.

There is another tree whose leaves are dyed. Its branches recline on the earth. And it has sweet fruit and fragrance. Whoever carries it with him becomes merry, bold, and courageous. He defeats every one who fights or strives with him. And it is outwardly in all its forms.

There is another tree which is planted (and not sown) and has long leaves. Its entirety appears before its blossoms. It has one blossom in which<sup>1</sup> are three other long blossoms of red colour and sweet smell. Whoever eats it becomes joyful and laughter-loving. And whoever touches a woman with its blossom, plucked with its root and leaves, she lovingly inclines towards him ; it is acceptable to everybody.

There is another herb whose virtue is contrary to the preceding one. It is a kind of grass called Darufshoon. It grows in the land of China. It has many branches and small leaves. Its branches intersperse in threes. It has a very small round yellow seed which is whitish inside when it is fresh and soft. If thou takest seven grains (or seeds) of it, pronouncing the name of any one, at a time when Taurus is in the ascendant, and Venus and the unlucky signs are absent from it, and givest to that person those seven seeds in some food to eat, love of thee is engendered and strengthened in that person's soul and heart.

There is a herb that removes diseases. It is sown [not planted]. Its branches are square in form and its leaves round. It has blue blossoms and red seeds. Its smell is pleasant. Its property is of the Sun at its height and its nature watery and airy. Its smell cures headache, cold, dizziness, sorrow, fear, epilepsy, and many other diseases.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a certain tree which has no root and is propped up. It has a long slender leaf. There appears in it before all other of its blossoms a single blossom called Najunia. And in it are three . . . C.

<sup>2</sup> C adds : And there is a herb called Fotolidun ; it produces love. So does the root of a kind of vegetable called Taifi. It is a kind of Khomaluki (? Khamalamik, wolfsbane). It is most potent in creating love and friendship.

p. 123 I have completed for thee, O Alexander, all that thou wast  
desirous of according to thy stipulation, and I<sup>2</sup> have performed  
my duty towards thee, to the extent of thy claim upon me. So  
be thou strengthened thereby, and confirmed and happy, if  
ends 123 l. 6 God will.

The book is finished with praise to God and by his help and  
goodly support. The prayers of God be for our Lord Muhammad  
and his family and Companions. Praise be to God, Lord of the  
worlds. Amen.

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTORY TREATISE

3<sup>14</sup>. **glomerelli.** Grammarians. A term (1267), used especially of Grammar boys at school. See Rashdall, *Med. Universities*, ii. 555.

4<sup>24</sup>. **Beata Scolastica.** I take the story from the *Golden Legend*. ‘It happened another day that S. Benet went to visit his sister, named Scholastica, and as they sat at table she prayed her brother that he would abide there all that night, but he in no wise would grant her, and said he might not live out of his cloister. And when she saw that he would not grant her to abide, she inclined her head and made her prayers to our Lord, and anon it began to thunder and lighten, and the air to wax dark which tofore was fair and clear, and a great rain fell down so that for nothing he might depart . . .’

6<sup>19</sup>. **titulos authenticos.** A long list of these with incipits is given in the *Speculum Astronomicum* of Albert. It has been suggested that this tract was written by Bacon, but no one with an ear for style could accept the suggestion for a moment. Bacon’s other mention of them is in the *De nullitate magiae*, c. 4 (Brewer, p. 532, see p. 526) and in the *Opus Tertium* (p. 48, Little).

6<sup>30</sup>. **ungue pueri virginis carminati.** See a case in *Lincoln Visitations*, vol. ii, where an abbot at Leicester is found doing this in the fifteenth century. The shoulder blade of a ram is used in divination all over the world, but more commonly by the cracks on it when heated.

7<sup>6</sup>. **geomantici.** The usual method was to take three sets of odd or even by chance three times. This gives a figure interpreted by well-known rules.

7<sup>55</sup>. **jam incepta est a quindecim annis.** If we may accept this as referring to Richard of Cornwall, whose teaching was condemned at Paris after having been enunciated at Oxford in 1250 (Rashdall, *Comp. Stud. Theol.*, pp. 52–3), the date of this introduction might be 1265. On the other hand the error may be the Averroist doctrine of the unity of the intellect (c. 1256), bringing the date to 1271.

8<sup>24</sup>. **Averoys.** ‘Dicit et aliam rationem famosam quod haec fuit causa ut lex apud eos preciperet ut orationes eorum essent tres: aut sacrificia: et dixit: et non invenit legislator hominibus istum numerum, nisi ut sequeret naturam ut ista lex sit quasi sequens naturam. Dixit. Et secundum istum numerum tenemur magnificare creatorem remotum

a modis creaturarum : in orationibus et sacrificiis. nam omnia ista non fiunt nisi ad magnificandum creatorem.' *De celo et mundo*, lib. i, c. 2.

**9<sup>5</sup>. Artephius.** Several tracts are extant under this name, including the *De secretis naturae*, but nothing preserving the legend alluded to here and elsewhere (23<sup>18</sup>; Brewer, 540, 546; *Op. Maj.* ii. 209).

**20<sup>10</sup>. dignitatibus.** The passage in the *Op. Maj.* (i. 261) and *Metaphysics* (p. 49) is much better and more correct. The passage is taken, and modified, from Grosseteste's *De impressionibus aeris* (ed. Baur, p. 43), which contains a good table of the terms or limits and of the *facies* or *decans*. There are three equal *decans* or *facies* in each sign and five unequal terms or limits. Grosseteste gives the term twice the influence of the *decan*, Bacon it will be seen reverses it. The *domus* of a planet is the sign in which it was created: Sol in Leo, Luna in Cancer, Saturn in Capricorn, Jupiter in Sagittarius, Mars in Aries, Venus in Libra, Mercury in Virgo. The house with respect to the earth is found by dividing the vertical circle passing through the zenith and nadir into twelve parts, that beginning at the eastern horizon being the first house. The position of the signs and planets in these houses will of course vary from moment to moment.

**24<sup>8</sup>. in Sciencia Experimentali alibi scripsimus.** See *Op. Maj.* ii. 209. Obviously this part of the *Opus Majus* was written before the Introduction.

**24<sup>9</sup>. vidimus.** Compare this passage with that just referred to, and Brewer, p. 539. But perhaps 'vidimus' is used in a general sense.

#### NOTES ON THE TEXT

##### Section b. pp. 36-8.

**36<sup>25</sup>.** In Sanguinetti's extracts from Ibn Abi Osaibi'ah, this is attributed to AEsculapius. Galen says: 'Le Dieu suprême a révélé à Esculape ce qui suit: Tu es plus digne que je t'appelle un ange qu'un homme' (*Journal Asiatique* (1853), iv. 184). There is a passage in Galen, *Suasoria ad artes oratio*: 'Among these we rank Socrates and Homer and Hippocrates and Plato, and their followers, whom we reverence as equal with the gods, as messengers and servants of the gods', which may be the origin of this statement.

**36<sup>30</sup>.** 'Hippocrate dit que Dieu a élevé à lui Esculape dans les airs, au milieu d'une colonne de lumière' (loc. cit., p. 184). This is also said by Muwaffik eddin Assad of Hermes (loc. cit., p. 188). It probably arises from the story of Enoch, who appears in the Quran as Idris. 'And mention in the Book Idris; verily he was a confessor, a prophet; and we raised him to a lofty place' (19. 58). But Idris was later identified with Hermes, see p. 99<sup>6</sup>. An early reference is found in Lactantius, *Inst.* i. 6. 1 'Unum proferam quod est simile divino, et ob nimiam vetustatem et quod is (Hermes) quem nominabo ex hominibus in deos relatus est.'

38<sup>5</sup>. Among these epistles is that in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, xx. 5. Pseudo-Ammonius, *Vita Aristotelis*, f. 5<sup>vo</sup> (p. 11. 45 Westerm.) : 'Alexandro scripsit de Regno librum singularem, quo eum quae regis officia essent docuit.'

Joann. Philoponus (cf. *Vit. Marc.*, p. 5, Robbe) : 'Ut autem et omnibus hominibus universaliter benefacerat scripsit Alexandro librum unum de Regno, docens ipsum qualiter oporteat regnare; et in tantum movit animam Alexandri ad faciendum quod dicebat : Quod non benefici aliquibus hodie non regnavi.'

See Eratosthenes apud Strabonem, i, p. 116 (cf. Bernhardy, *Eratosthenica*, lvi. p. 70) : 'Aristoteles jubebat Alexandrum Graecis se tanquam principem barbaris tanquam dominum praebere, et illorum quidem ut amicorum et domesticorum curam gerere, his tanquam brutis aut stirpibus uti' (Plut. *de Alex. Fort. aut Virt.* i, c. 6).

Ammon. in *comm. ad Categorias*, f. 9<sup>vo</sup> (p. 35, B. 14, Mand.) : 'Particularia appellantur scripta Aristotelis quaecunque proprie ad aliquem scripta sunt, ut Epistolae vel quae ab Alexandro Macedone rogatus sive de Regno sive de ducendis coloniis scripsit.'

38<sup>6</sup>. There are some merely verbal alterations in the Achillini text of this letter.

38<sup>16</sup>. The best texts give 'si potes . . . mutare' omitting 'non'. The Achillini text differs considerably : 'Si poteris ipsos occidere, est potentia in manu tua in hoc propter regnum; tamen non poteris occidere terram. Sed si potes imitari terrae aerem et aquam atque etiam dispositionem civitatum, implebis tuum propositum. Vis autem dominari super eos cum bonitate, exaudi eos cum benignitate,' &c., &c.

The Hebrew—and Western Arabic—is much longer. Cf. Gaster, p. 3. The Eastern Arabic gives a very short form (p. 177).

The *Universal History of Al-Makin* (x. 1273) (Budge, *Alexander*, ii. 366) quotes the letters as follows : 'Behold, I have mingled with the governors of Persia, who are many, and they are men of understanding, and are perfect, and wise, and penetrating, and men of noble minds, and they are gentle, strong, and serviceable for the work of the kingdom, but behold, I wish to slay them one after the other; do thou, now, give me thy counsel in this matter.' And concerning this thing Aristotle wrote, saying : 'Although thou art able to slay them, slay them not, for thou wilt be able to change neither the spirit (air?) of their country, nor the water of their land; but rule them well, and be submissive unto them, and thou shalt vanquish them by love, and they will be subject unto thee.'

Abu Shaker (Budge, *Alexander*, ii. 303) quotes as follows : 'I find the Persian governors to be men of understanding, and suitable for the work of the kingdom: Shall I slay them? Give me thy advice on this matter.' Then Aristotle wrote unto him, saying : 'If thou killest them, thou wilt not be able to change either the water of their land, or the

wind of their country; therefore rule them graciously, and conquer them with love, and they will be subject unto thee.'

See also Ma'sudi, ii. 134: 'Alexandre, adoptant le conseil que son maître et son ministre Aristote lui avait donné dans une lettre, noua des relations avec chacun de ces chefs, et leur laissa le pouvoir et le revenu de la contrée où ils résidaient.'

### Section c. p. 39.

39<sup>9</sup>. This temple has been identified by Dr. Pietschmann as perhaps Baalbek ('Abd-Schems), or more likely Heliopolis in Egypt ('Ain-Schems): 'Endlich sei er zu dem grossen Tempel von Abd-Schems oder Baalbek gekommen, den Hermes der Grosse gebaut habe. Dort habe er einen Derwisch von grosser Einsicht und Weisheit gefunden. Vielleicht ist hier statt عبد شمس عين شمس 'Ain Shems zu lesen, Heliopolis in Aegypten, dessen Ruinen ja die Araber wie Maqrizi, Abdallatif und Ibn Ayas bewundern. Allerdings wird auch der Tempel von Baalbek noch im sechsten Jahrhundert erwähnt.' Richard Pietschmann, *Hermes Trismegistos*, pp. 57-8.

39<sup>10</sup>. The Hebrew—and Western Arabic—make Hermes the builder of the temple.

39<sup>11</sup>. Cf. the extract from this in the translation of Joh. Hispalensis, *Egressus sum . . . de graeco in arabicam* (p. xviii), thus agreeing with the Oxford text. The Hebrew has 'from Greek into Rumi, and from Rumi into Arabic.'

### Section f. Discourse I, pp. 42-47.

43<sup>20</sup>. The Vulgate insertion is here warranted by the Arabic. Philip seems to have made two alternative translations.

Dicta seu castigationes Sedechie. 'Et dixit quam bonum est hiis benefacere qui merentur et quam utile, et quam malum est non merentibus et inutile, quia qui hoc facit perdit laborem suum. Nam qui benefacit non merentibus est ut pluvia in arenam, quia perditur.' *Placita Philosophorum Moralium Antiquorum ex Graeco in Latinum translata a Magistro Joanne de Procida Magno civi Salernitanico.* Renzi, *Schola Salernitanum*, iii. 71.

44<sup>19</sup>. **regni Caldeorum.** Arabic Hanayah, Hayahij; Hebrew Nigig.

44<sup>31</sup>. **Cavendum . . . vitanda.** Insertion by Philip.

45<sup>14</sup>. **vel dedisse.** Words in brackets are obviously alternative readings in the Latin text. The brackets are inserted by the present editor.

45<sup>20</sup>. **speculator.** The common text reads 'speculum', correctly.

### Section g. Discourse II, p. 47.

49<sup>16</sup>. 'Dans l'Inde un roi ne peut monter sur le trône avant quarante ans révolus; il ne se montre au peuple qu'à des époques déterminées,

et seulement pour examiner les affaires de l'État ; car dans leurs idées, un roi porterait atteinte à sa dignité et n'inspirerait plus le même respect s'il se montrait constamment au peuple.' Ma'sudi, *Prairies d'or*, i. 167.

49<sup>28</sup>. **conabitur** : *concionabitur*. Vulgate.

50<sup>29</sup>. **Unicuique ergo reddendum est quod suum est** : a reminiscence of the Civil law, added by Philip.

52<sup>30</sup>. The Vulgate inserts here 'vesti hodie unum et cras alium', which has probably dropped out of Bacon's text.

52<sup>26</sup>. This quotation is not from any known Hermetic work.

55<sup>31</sup>. Another Hermetic quotation otherwise unknown : cf. the Arabic text.

56<sup>34</sup>. **Mihi vindictam et ego retribuam.** Rom. xii. 19.

56<sup>30</sup>. Perhaps a reference to Isa. xxxiv. 8.

57<sup>1-6</sup>. An insertion of Philip.

57<sup>9</sup>. This is not in any known Hermetic work.

57<sup>20</sup>. **Ambasoyorum et Scitarum.** Arabic Inakh, Safoor, and Hananij ; Hebrew Atag, and Skir, and Ihas, and Imim.

58<sup>16-21</sup>. Philip adds this praise of liberality to scholars.

59<sup>5-7</sup>. Not in Vulgate.

#### Section h. pp. 60-2. *de regimine vite per astronomiam.*

60<sup>29</sup>. Bacon returns to the subject of this word in his Greek Grammar, p. 71<sup>12</sup>.

61<sup>7</sup>. Cf. *Opus Majus*, i. 390.

60<sup>27-61<sup>2</sup></sup>. **Plato.** The Vulgate reading is Bacon's alternative—'et per hoc habuit scienciam de ideis et rebus formatisi'. The Arabic is quite unintelligible in this connexion, whether it refers to the art of 'painting on silk' (Eastern text), or of weaving, 'the fringed garment known as the dibaj' (Western text).

61<sup>5-11</sup>. An addition of Philip : as also lines 14-17 and line 34.

62<sup>6-17</sup>. Only in Eastern text.

62<sup>11</sup>. 'entibus' is better. The meaning of the original has not been caught by the translator ; it is that the second part is to know how the motion of the heavens, &c., affect things before they come to pass.

62<sup>5</sup>. The Vulgate and Arabic texts give 1029, which includes the seven planets. See *Op. Maj.* i. 235 ; *Com. Nat.*, p. 395.

#### Section i. pp. 64-68.

65<sup>6</sup>. 'Prima statui potest ea quae ex primordiis conficitur iis quae nonnulli elementa appellant, terram dico, aerem, aquam, ignem : sed melius fortasse dici potest, ex virtutibus confici elementorum, iisque non omnibus : humiditas enim et siccitas, et caliditas et frigiditas, materia corporum sunt compositorum.' Aristotle, *de part. anim.* ii. 1.

65<sup>8</sup>. ‘Nam cum quatuor illa sint ex quibus compactum est corpus,—Terra, Ignis, Aqua, Aer,—horum contra natura abundantia defectusque, et ex loco proprio in alienum translatio, per quam quod sibi conveniens est non tenent, intestinam quandam seditionem et morbos inferunt.’ Plato, *in Timaeo*.

66<sup>4</sup>. Told of Socrates in Diogenes Laertius, ii. The Arabic text gives Socrates.

#### Section k. pp. 68–76.

73<sup>4</sup>. *ascende*: *incede* is preferable.

75<sup>13</sup>. *que legem non habet*: an aside of Philip's.

75<sup>22</sup>. *cognoscas*: *cognosces* is preferable.

#### Seasons. pp. 76–81.

77<sup>8</sup>. ‘Aiunt nonnulli veris complexionis calidam esse et humidam . . . Ex his ergo que dicta sunt vere patet nequaquam calidum esse et humidum lino temperatum.’ Haly, *liber totius medicinae*, v. 3.

‘Ver calidum et humidum est: ideo sanguinis in corpore incrementum fit.’ Hippocrates, *de hominis structura*.

78<sup>8</sup>. ‘Aeris vero estate complexio calida est et sicca.’ Haly.

‘Aestas calida et sicca ideo flavam auget bilem.’ Hippocrates.

79<sup>10</sup>. ‘Autumnus autem frigidus est et siccus . . .’ Haly.

‘Autumnus siccus et frigidus, ideo atram bilem et saniem auget, sanies quidem sanguinea et aquosa est.’ Hippocrates.

80<sup>7</sup>. *asymon* = *al-aftimum* Ar., *angariacio* = *al-garikun*.

80<sup>4</sup>. ‘At vero hyems frigida est et humida . . .’ Haly.

‘Hyems vero pituitam in corpore adauget.’ Hippocrates.

#### Section l. pp. 81–83.

81<sup>26</sup>. Philip has here misread his MS. of Hispalensis and substituted ‘senectute’ for ‘siccitate’, forcing him to recast the sentence. Compare with p. 89<sup>7</sup>.

#### Section m. pp. 83–87.

83<sup>23</sup>. ‘Diducimus utique hominis corpusculum in partes quatuor, caput, thoracem ventrem atque vesicam.’ Diocles.

83<sup>25</sup>. *signa*. ‘Vertigo, dolor capitis, superciliorum gravedo, murmur aurium, stimulatio temporum, oculi matutino tempore lachrymant et caligant, odoratus hebetatur, dentium gingivae atolluntur.’ Diocles.

83<sup>28</sup>. ‘caput confestim evacuandum ducito.’ Diocles.

84<sup>1</sup>. *esdentim* is *afsantin* Ar. (wormwood).

84<sup>1</sup>. ‘Verum sumptis hyssopi aut organi capitibus tritis, et in aulula ebullitis cum passo, vel defruti hemina dimidiata, quibus os jejonus abluito, atque quod pituita deducitur, gargarizato.’ Diocles.

84<sup>4</sup>. ‘. . . Sinapi aqua mulsa calida maceratum in jejunio sorbere et gargarizando a capite humorem deducere.’ Diocles.

84<sup>6</sup>. *xii unguentis*. See the Arabic text (p. 203).

84<sup>8</sup>. ‘Ophthalmiae, glaucomata, aurium fissurae, strumae in cervice,

cerebri tabes, gravedo, angina nocturna, teredines, vua, profluvium capillorum, ulceratio capit is, dentium cruciatus.' Diocles.

84<sup>14</sup>. 'Lingua crassescit, ejiciunt per sputa, vel salsa vel amara vel biliosa, in lateribus ac scapulis dolores citra occasionem oriuntur, oscedines crebrae, vigiliae, suffocationes, sitis ex somno, animus tristior, algores pectoris, brachiorum et manuum tremor, infestant.' Diocles.

84<sup>17</sup>. 'Prosunt etiam jejuni vomitus.' Diocles.

84<sup>18-20</sup>. Not from Diocles.

84<sup>20</sup>. *amissosus* is *anisoun*, Ar.

84<sup>21</sup>. *transeugam* is *galengale*.

84<sup>22</sup>. 'Pleuritim, pulmoniariam, melancholiam, febres acutas, phrenitum veternum, et cum singultu ardorem (metuat).' Diocles.

84<sup>25</sup>. 'Aristoteles instruens Alexandrum Regem inquit, frequentationes pectinis super caput visum impedientes evertunt ad cutem, ne visui obsint. Item inquit, aspectus rerum viridum in loco multae temperie visum corroborat. Item dixit, aspicere speculum tersum directum et diu intueri super ipsum visum corroborat, et oculi defatigationem removet. Item injunxit, post oculi defatigationem ingredi domum obscuram non multae tenebrositatis, et intueri fenestras in quibus sit aliquid parum viride, vel intueri aquam viridem, et submergere oculos in ipsa. Item dixit, exercitatio legendi literas mediocrem visum corroborat, et oculorum sanitatem custodit.' Mesue, *de egritudine oculorum*.

Razis, *ad Almansorem*, tr. iv, c. 22, has the following: 'Qui oculorum volunt sanitatem custodire a sole estivo et pulvere atque fumo sibi cavere debent. Ne etiam colores albos vel radiosa semper inspiciant valde observare debent: ac ne unam rem sicut pavefactus semper intueatur cavere debent. Litteras quoque, vel subtiles sculturas nequaquam aspiciant. A multo preterea fletu et a longo dormitione post comedionem omnino est abstinendum, neque diu est morandum in loco ubi frigidus perflat ventus. A cibis etiam valde siccis, sicut sunt lentes et res salse: atque frequenti coitu omnino cavere debent. . . . Est preterea de eorum numero que oculos acuunt, aquam intrare claram, atque per magnum spacium oculos in ea apertos tenere: hoc enim eos claros facit et rigidos. Multotiens quoque corroborantur oculi: cum aliquis librum incipit aspicere cuius litere non sunt subtiles, et intendere ceperit quid in eo sit vel quid sit in picturis. Quod autem conservat sanitatem et absterget: tuthia est cum succo sansuci confecta. Sunt autem de his que oculos abstergunt, ut recentis feniculi succus in oculis ponatur, vel collirium de malis granatis.'

86<sup>19-22</sup> are taken from Razis, op. cit., tr. ii, c. 28: 'Cujus oculi sunt magni piger est. Cujus quoque oculi in profundo sunt positi, callidus est et deceptor. Cujus oculi foris prominent, inverecundus est, et loquax et stolidus.'

87<sup>4</sup>. 'Post exiguum etiam cibum plenitas infestare videtur, inflationes, eructuationes, universi corporis pallor, somni graves, lotia lurida, et aegerrime emanantia, et circa pudenda tumores.' D.

87<sup>5</sup>. *ache* is O. F. for parsley. *anamag* is neither Arabic nor Persian. The meaning is 'fennel', and it is probably a corruption of some European word.

87<sup>6</sup>. 'Sunt vero foeniculi apiique radices in vino albo odorato mace-randa, unde jejonus in matutino quotidie duos cyathos, cum aqua dauci, smyrnii, enulae campanae, quodcunque horum ad manum sit, juxta enim singula juvant: cicerum quoque maceratorum aquam, si cum vino potaverit, idem consequetur.' Diocles.

87<sup>9</sup>. 'Hydropem, lienis magnitudinem, hepatis dolorem, calculum, renum affectionem, lotii stitlicidium, distentionem ventris.' Diocles.

#### Section n. pp. 87-98. *de conservantibus sanitatem.*

87<sup>30</sup>. Evidently a lacuna before *utitur*—i. e. *assafœtida*.

88<sup>1</sup>. 'Medicamen ex nucibus et ficubus quod omnes venenosorum animalium modos nocere prohibat. Rx. nucum a duabus corticibus excorticatarum partem unam, salis grandinosi, foliorum ruthe, amborum ana, sextam unius partis ficuum albarum, quantum ad predicatorum sufficit commixtionem. Ex quibus, cum mixta fuerint, nucis fiat similitudo et comedatur. Quibus uti incipiat quecunque ne veneno perimatur timet, et sumat ex ea etiam ante cibum suum: hic namque est medicamen quod venena expellit.' Razis, *ad Almansorem*, tr. viii, c. i.

#### Section o. pp. 89-94. *de cibis.*

93<sup>14</sup>. Avicenna (vol. ii, p. 363 ed. cit.) has a tract upon the subject, *de sirupo acetoso*, founded on Galen.

93<sup>19</sup>. The Arabic text has Homer for the author of this sentiment. Aristo is not mentioned.

93<sup>26</sup>. Razis, tr. v, c. 7, recommends the following course: 'Oportet crapulatum diu dormire ac postquam evigilaverit balneum ingredi, ubi in loco sedeat temperato. Et postquam super ipsius caput aqua tepide multitudine fusa fuerit, exeat . . .' See also Haly, ii. 56, 63, 64, 65.

94<sup>1</sup>. *sadel* is sandal wood.

94<sup>4</sup>. Arabic medicine lays great stress on habit, but I have not found this particular recommendation.

#### Section p. pp. 94-6.

This section may be compared with Razis, *ad Almansorem*, tr. v, cc. 60 and 61, which correspond generally but are not its source.

94<sup>25</sup>. *mellis humidi . . . in caule geldel*. This unmeaning phrase must be due to a fault in the Arabic text before Philip. A possible emendation is 'in cavis gelidis'. It may be 'de celo cadens ad modum roris': see liber Saladin, f. 351 b. 2.

#### Section q. pp. 96, 97. *de balneo.*

This section seems to be the first account of the Hammam known.

Avicenna (i. 2. 2-19) speaks of three chambers to the bath, the first cooling and moistening, the second warming and moistening, the third warming and drying—an arrangement more like the Roman system; his teaching being founded on Galen and Hippocrates.

97<sup>1</sup>. Philip seems to have misunderstood his text. The hairdressing and anointing comes in the regular course of the bath; see p. 209.

97<sup>2</sup>. **unguento scesarino confecto de sandel et emleg.** In some of the Arabic texts the title 'Caesarian' is applied to this soap. Other Arabic texts give 'short ointment.' Note that the Arabic word *amlaj* (myrobalan) is transliterated *emleg*.

97<sup>3</sup> **bletes** is an O.F. word.

The prescriptions that follow have suffered greatly both in the Latin texts and in the Arabic, especially as to the quantities, but they may be emended fairly satisfactorily. The weights and measures used are commonly, *rotula*—*ratl*—a pound, *dirhem*—drachm, and *ankia* (40 *dirhems*)—ounce.

The receipt for the medium contains only one mistake; the proportion of grape juice is one-tenth of what it should be. Some formulas substitute the juice of sour apples for those of sweet.

In the first medicine Philip comes to grief over parsley water or *ocymum* (*eleorangam*), and myrobalan (*el egaman*—*amlaj*, p. 100<sup>2</sup>), and he omits some words in line 9, which should read '1½ dr. of musk and 1 dr. of ambergris'.

In the second medicine (p. 100<sup>15</sup>) 'et galanga cubebis' is an intrusion, unless 'cubebis' is a shot at 'Kabuli' or black myrobalan. The 'caroble de Babilonia' is cassia and 'virotis' is myrtle. 'Rabarir' is not rhubarb, as Bacon explains it, but *tabashir* (bamboo manna), a silica deposit in the joints of the bamboo, used as a tonic and aphrodisiac.

In the third medicine Philip gets his quantities right but does not translate the names: 'emleg' is *amlaj* or myrobalans, and 'eileg' is *halileg*, Ar. emblic myrobalan. 'Darsan cariole' is cinnamon (*darsin*), and 'nuce muscata' nutmeg.

The text of the fourth medicine is very corrupt. There is no Arabic for 'palmitum et', which should be omitted, or for 'aqua salsa colata bene' or 'cayrsen'. 'Effeti' is *afsantin* (wormwood or absinthe). This receipt varies very greatly from that of the ordinary texts, and comes nearer to that in *Or. 6421* (D). 'Fresh Ansaj juice 2 r., moist Dodder juice 2 r., 'Sares' or 'Bares' juice 2 r., parsley juice ½ r., endive juice 1 r. Fresh leek juice 1 r., Fennel juice 1 r., Wormwood ¼ r., Fresh Hyssop ¼ r., and Sebestens ¼ r.'

In the fifth medicine 'escines' is French lavender (*stoechas*), 'berforches' barberries: 'deferat viridi' and 'trifera viridis' seem to be doublets of an Arabic word which may mean camomile or orris root. 'Cimini' is *anisum* (aniseed).

In the sixth medicine the text is again hopelessly corrupt. The

'colatura seminum contrariorum' should be  $\frac{1}{2}$  r. each of juice of fleawort and quince seeds or cotton seeds—'bazar qutūnā', Ar., and the 'uncia de granis pini' 3 oz. of gum tragacanth.

In the seventh medicine the quantities are wrong. 'Aretim' is *darsin*, a kind of cinnamon, 'amomo' is cinnamon, *kurfa*, and 'corawed' is *raond*, *al-rawand*, rhubarb.

In the eighth medicine 'clavini' is a corruption perhaps of *darwani*, *doronicum*: and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dr. each of three kinds of sandal-wood and of *lak* are omitted.

In the ninth medicine the 'dactili Indici recentes mundati a granis suis' are tamarinds. In line 25, 1 oz. of oil of balsam is omitted. The variant 'de luto smaragdi' in 104<sup>1</sup> is the right reading.

#### Section s. p. 105. *de viperis.*

105<sup>9</sup>-106<sup>10</sup> is only found in Bacon's text and those founded upon it.

106<sup>12</sup>-107<sup>22</sup>. Avicenna, v, sum. 1, tract 1 (p. 257, vol. ii, ed. Ven. 1564), with a number of insignificant verbal alterations, close enough to show that the extracts were made from a Latin translation and not the Arabic text.

107<sup>23-30</sup>. Avicenna, Canon II, tr. 2, cap. 616 (vol. i, p. 375); the ordinary texts finish here.

107<sup>30-34</sup>. These lines are also extracted from the same chapter of Avicenna, with the exception of the words 'et multa alia . . . enarrare'.

#### Section t. pp. 108-10. *de regimine medicine per astronomiam.*

109<sup>3</sup>. in secundo medietate. This should be amended to 'in secunda mansione vel octava'.

#### Section N. pp. 157-63. *de incantamentis.*

157<sup>15</sup>. 'corruptibili' should probably be 'corporali'. Lines 19-21 are additions. Line 27: the Vulgate text is 'recipient infans et mulier pregnans' where 'infans' is an emendation, to agree with 'mulier pregnans', but the original shows that the translator must have mistaken the Arabic for 'mirror' for 'woman' and neglected the word 'polished'. The passage should be 'recipit visus et speculum politum'.

158<sup>10</sup> sqq. The reading of these lines is due to Dr. Henry Bradley—the text being read usually as 'a que ymiam sene', Queynuan being Keiwan, Saturn. It is, for instance, only from this section that we learn that Homo is a term for Saturn. 'Que ymiam sene et a patre sene' is improved in some texts to 'imbriam' and so on, only to get further from the real meaning, which is 'by Saturn who is the elder and father of all other planets'. 'Qui est magnus apparens in libertate' applies to Jupiter evidently, but defies explanation: 'ad puteum flavum' applies to the moon, but similarly can neither be amended or explained.

159<sup>10</sup>. 'humilitatem' should probably be 'habilitatem', as Vulgate.

160<sup>17</sup>. 'nodum' is probably right; l. 18, 'circumstancium' should be

'errantium' as Vulgate text: l. 25, the original has here a reference to the astrolabe; l. 29, 'insinuacionem' should probably be 'insidiationem'.

161<sup>14</sup>. *et quid . . . lapidearum*, not in Vulgate text.

161<sup>15</sup>. *committitur . . .* The passage is corrupt and is not in the Arabic. The sense is that every compound grows under the influence of one or more planets.

162<sup>16</sup>. '*operacio Hermogenis*' is not in the Arabic text. The recipe in lines 27 sqq. is slightly involved; '*victoriam ejus qui dominatur in eis*' is 'the essence of the chief among them'. For '*racio*' read '*Homo*', which means Saturn, as also in line 33.

163<sup>17</sup>. The alternative '*Tauro*' is the correct reading. l. 7, '*Hominem*' is Saturn. l. 11, '*planetarum edificancium*' needs emendation—it means the fixed stars. After line 20 the translation differs from any described Arabic text

165<sup>18</sup>. For classical analogues see Foerster, *Scriptores physiognomici* I. viii. where the story is told of Zopirus and Socrates.

165<sup>19</sup>. Mistake for '*libro 3 auctorum*'—printed by Foerster, ii. 1.

167<sup>20</sup>. *et sapiencie innuit paucitatem*. Only found in this text: extracted from Razis, ii. 26: 'in ventre quoque et pectore pilorum multitudine reperta sapientie innuit paucitatem'.

168<sup>21</sup>. 'Cujus oculi cito mobiles sunt et acute cernentes, deceptor est et calidus, atque latro.' Razis, ii. 28.

168<sup>22</sup>. 'Preterea homines cum hoc habentes in oculis maculas rubeas ut sanguis, aut albas, omnibus hominibus sunt deteriores et magis deceptores.'

168<sup>23</sup>. *Et similiter . . . est*. Not in other texts. From Razis, ii. 30: 'Cujus narium foramen valde sunt aperta irascibilis est.'

169<sup>24</sup>. 'Cujus frons plana est, rugas non habens, litigiosus est et commovens rixas.' Razis, ii. 31.

169<sup>25</sup>. 'Qui magnum habet os, gulosus est et audax.' Razis, ii. 32.

169<sup>26</sup>. 'Cujus magna sunt labia, stultus intelligitur et habes.' Razis, ii. 32.

169<sup>27</sup>. 'Qui tempora inflata et venas arteriatas grossas, irascibilis est.' Razis, ii. 32.

170<sup>28</sup>. 'Bonitas vocis stultitiam et paucam demonstrat sapientiam.' Razis, ii. 35.

170<sup>29</sup>. Quoted by Albertus Magnus, *de Animalibus*, i. 2. 26 *in fine*.

170<sup>30</sup>. 'Equalitas dorsi bonum est signum.' Razis, ii. 41.

170<sup>31</sup>. Cf. Razis ii. 43.

172<sup>32</sup>. Cf. Razis, ii. 50.

## SUMMARY OF INTRODUCTORY TREATISE

(p. 1) This short and useful tract explains some obscure sayings in the *Secretum Secretorum* which Aristotle wrote in his old age for Alexander the Great; it was made by brother Roger Bacon, of the order of Minors, of his charity for the instruction of certain wise men. A wise man who studies and discusses it thoroughly, together with the notes which brother Roger has in many places added to the text, will discover the deepest secrets of nature to which man or human invention can attain, and thus be called in truth first of the world. Nor need any one despair, since if he knows the natures of things, perspective, and astronomy, those secrets cannot remain hidden from him. (Follow chapter headings.) (p. 2) It is to be thought that the translator of this book (called the Secret of Secrets of Aristotle or the book of the Governance of Princes, Kings, and Lords) might have rendered many words more accurately such as *Mancia* and *Geomancia* and *Celimancia* and *Incantacio* and *Carmen*, which are neither good translations nor consonant with religion. The fault is due to the ignorance of translators. ‘Mancia’ means divination, as practised by magicians and mathematicians (using the word as if derived from ‘matesis’—magic which negatives free will). True mathematicians (from ‘mathesi’, teaching) judge differently. (p. 3) Mathematics includes four sciences, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, and Astrology, which contains Astrology, judiciary and operative Astronomy. Cassiodorus is quoted. He then quotes Evrardus with a reprimand for his ignorance of Greek quantities, and finishes the chapter by explaining the belief of false mathematicians in the power of the stars over free will.

Chapter 2, of true mathematicians, explains their position. They do not presume necessity in anything open to the will, and do not attempt to foretell all events, nor any with certainty, (p. 4) as this child will be a good man or a bishop, if God wills. They foresee possibilities, knowing sufficient causes, but always assuming free will. Their art consists in knowing the position of the planets in the signs of the zodiac, and their relation to each other and the fixed stars, and so they can judge of the influence they may have on mundane things. But God may alter the event, and even the merits of a good Christian; a poor old woman by her prayers and merits may alter the course of nature, as blessed Scolastica when St. Benedict was about to depart from her

prayed for a storm to delay him. And this alteration in the course of nature may take place in animate bodies. The human body is changing every hour with the action of the various constellations and disposed to various actions though not forced. Often the natural disposition requires no forcing, (p. 5) but people do what their nature inclines them to do. Just as a man does things in the company of his friends which he would otherwise not have thought of doing, so the constellations may strengthen his disposition, though they do not force him to do anything. According to Avicenna, thought and working of the soul produce various effects in the body like heat or cold. Kings and other rulers should take note of this action on the soul by the habit of the body as affected by the stars. If a true mathematician knew the exact birth-date of any prince he could judge of his nature and qualities. For all men follow their complexions. And if a king is of a choleric complexion he will be naturally inclined to pride and anger, and war, &c. And his councillors and kingdom will follow in his path, and neighbouring kingdoms will also be disturbed. If he is of sanguine complexion he will be humble and prudent and peaceful, &c. And so on for the other complexions. And all who rule are swayed by their complexions unless God ordains otherwise. But if they have good advice from learned physicians skilled in astronomy, their evil complexions can be changed for better, and they be inclined to all good.

(p. 6) Chapter 3 is of the sayings and doings of false mathematicians and demons. True and false mathematicians alike can do much good, but the false think their results come of necessity. They also fall into other errors, desiring the help of demons, making charms (*carmina*), talismans (*karacteres*), and sacrifices, such as are described in their wicked books or revealed to them by demons. Such books are the Book of Adam, the Book of Moses, the Books of Solomon, the Books of Aristotle, and of Hermes, which are not by them but by evil men, and by them many are seduced. I have known very great people, even educated princes, to study them. And demons appear to these mathematicians in human form and otherwise, and say and do wonderful things. Sometimes they appear in reflections, as on the polished nails of virgin boys, and in basins and swords, and in the blade bone of a ram, and other polished things, and show them all they ask. And boys looking on these polished things see stolen goods, and to where they have been taken, and by whom, and so on. But the frenzy of these false mathematicians goes further, without the demons' appearance, but to pure magic, (p. 7) and they do many things useful to some and harmful to others, by the invisible aid of demons, God permitting. Thus the geomancers make signs and figures in sand, and believe they know all secrets, past, present, and future, and overseas they sit in public places and are openly consulted, they pretending that they work by consulting stars, so that many famous students

have been misled. And other magic arts in which the devils delude them are hydromancy, aeromancy, and pyromancy. And people are so misled, either because of their own infidelity, or that of the magicians, or for other sins, as may be seen by many things that happen in these times, as when people are bewitched, &c. And from these talismans and charms and figures and magical doings come the errors of old women, witches, &c. For the first were taught by magicians, and parents teach their children, and the evil grows and will grow till Antichrist comes. And many false teachers will precede Antichrist, and teaching like the errors in philosophy begun fifteen years ago, or the heretical doctrine taught, prepare people for Antichrist, who taught by demons will fulfil (p. 8) all their evil desires, and prevent all good and true.

Chapter 4, of the sayings and doings of true mathematicians. These hold themselves aloof from all evil and know how to select times in which the stars can assist nature, by God's disposition, to do great things by nature and art, not using magic or old wives' charms, but the grace given to philosophers. How far this grace extended we cannot say, but would to God all Christians had as much. Philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, and Avicenna were not idolaters, but worshipped God like the Fathers from Adam to Moses. Aristotle had the cult of the Trinity. Christian astronomers should pray to God and the saints, and use figures of the cross, crucifix, Blessed Virgin, and St. Denys (who was a great astronomer), and other special saints, and observe due seasons. Thus a physician should expose his medicines to the sky when favourable stars are above the horizon, and guard them from unfavourable ones. The same should be done with food and drink. (p. 9) Sick and insane persons should be exposed to favourable constellations. By this way the mental and moral status can be improved, as Artephius did. This course ought to be followed out with kings and princes and prelates, not only for their own good, but for that of their subjects. And many other things might be done for public utility in this way which Aristotle describes in this book, but secretly.

Chapter 5, of the true sciences with like names to the four false ones. Geomancy is magic, like some kinds of aeromancy, and hydromancy, and pyromancy. Other sciences of the same name are parts of experimental science. According to Ptolemy, the science of prognostication is duplex, one by Astronomy which gives a judgement midway between necessity and impossibility. Another, which considers future alterations, Ptolemy calls Experimental Science, (p. 10) which was much enlarged by Aratus. This science observes signs in the earth, the air, and fire, i. e. the sphere of fire by which philosophers foretell all future changes. The poets speak of this—Virgil, Servius his commentator, Lucan, and others. Avicenna tells how a hedgehog showed

a change of weather; dolphins, rustling of the trees, and swelling of waters also foretell it. Meteors and other appearances in the air, the rainbow and haloes show changes in the air. Comets also have a great significance, like that of 1264, which caused much disturbance in that and the following years, and frightened all men. These comets follow the motion of some planet or fixed star, (p. 11) like iron the magnet, and they are generated in the sphere of fire, as Algazel teaches. There are many signs of greater significance than these, such as the sight of two or three suns or two or three moons at once. We can read of such in Livy, or Orosius, or Augustine, and of the changes which followed. Also there have been showers of milk and blood and many other things, and springs of oil or blood have risen out of the earth, which have preceded great changes. Eclipses also are to be considered in this connexion. Astronomers consider the position of the sun and moon in the signs, but experimental science considers the way in which the benefit of light is cut off from the world. There is a very great change, especially in a total eclipse, the effect of which is described. One will come sooner than astronomers predict. These effects are called by Ptolemy 'secondaries of the stars', and he says that a more accurate judgement can be formed by them than by the stars themselves. Aristotle and others, he said, depended more on it than on astronomy. (p. 12) Considering then the etymology of these words geomancy, &c. It is obvious that sound sciences, considering only natural objects, can be found of geomancy, aeromancy, hydromancy, and pyromancy. It was these sciences that Aristotle wrote of, not the magical ones, but the translator had no other terms to use in Latin.

Chapter 6 gives some instruction in astronomy which is necessary for the understanding of the last chapter of the second part and the last two of the third part. The universe is spherical as regards its convexity, except the earth. The earth is naturally spherical, because it lies in the centre of the universe, and in the concavity of the sphere of water naturally, as it was in the beginning and will be in the end. The waters were withdrawn to make it habitable so that, (p. 13) according to Esdras, six parts of the earth are land and one water, agreeing with Aristotle. The succeeding spheres are air, fire, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Fixed Stars, Watery or ninth heaven, Empyreum or tenth heaven. (p. 14) There are ten heavens, and four spheres of elements: seven heavens of the planets, the eighth of fixed stars, because they are always at the same distance from each other. Each elemental sphere revolves less than that above it, the earth not at all, water little, air more, fire, moved by the sphere of the Moon, most. To understand the motion of the heavens we have to imagine a number of circles. The first are the equinoctials. These circles are in the eighth and ninth heaven. Another in the eighth and ninth heaven, north and south, is called 'zodiac' from the figures

of the stars in it. The names of these are Aries, Taurus, Gemini, &c., (p. 15) twelve in number. Each sign has 30 degrees, 360 in the whole, each degree is divided into 60 minutes, each of these into 60 seconds, each again into 60 thirds, and as much further as necessary. The zodiac in the eighth heaven is called movable, that in the ninth immovable, like the corresponding equinoctial, because the aqueous heaven does not move. The sun moves in the zodiac in another circle called the ecliptic, and never moves out of it, though other planets do. The eighth heaven moves under the zodiac of the ninth heaven, but only one degree every 100 years, so that its whole movement will take 36,000 years, that is it will never be completed because the universe will not last so long. The heaven of Saturn revolves once every thirty years, Jupiter in twelve years, Mars in two, the Sun in one, Venus and Mercury nearly the same, the Moon in twenty-seven days eight hours. Their movement round the earth is combined with this, thus the sun moves nearly a degree every day in its circuit. Suppose it begins the day with the sun at a certain point in the immovable zodiac, it is carried round the earth with it up to the next sunshine, but it is not in the upper part of the sign but the lower, because it moves not in a circle but on a sphere and does not finish where it began. Thus if the sun and the point in the zodiac coincide with the corresponding point in the eighth heaven, the eighth heaven revolves round the earth quicker than the ninth, and so next day the sun will be one degree further in the movable zodiac. The sun moves by its motion to the east round the earth, and not by the motion of the eighth sphere as the unskilful believe.

(p. 17) Chapter 7 treats of the properties of planets and signs and of the six ways in which all things animate and inanimate are influenced by them. The Moon is cold and moist, Mercury is indifferent, acting in conjunction with other planets. Venus is warm and moist, yet rather moist than warm. The Sun is warm and temperate, but its heat is not destructive. Mars is over-warm and dry, and so harmful unless other signs intervene to moderate its effects. Jupiter is warm and moist, and the best after the Sun. Thus when it is in conjunction with the Moon in the same sign it prevents laxative medicine taking effect. Saturn is very bad and venomous, because it is cold and dry and the cause of death. Yet it is sometimes useful, like scammony which is a poisonous but useful drug. For some constellations are so favourable that if they were not restrained by Saturn or Mars the world would perish of too much good. The fixed stars are of the nature of one or other of the planets. (p. 18) The qualities of the planets are modified by their aspect to one another, by conjunction, i. e. when they are in the same sign, by opposition, when they are half the sky distant, sextile aspect when they are two signs distant, quarter aspect when three signs, and trine aspect when four signs. (p. 19) Their effects are also modified by

their approach to or recess from the earth. Their effects are also increased or diminished in three ways according to their position in the signs, that is under the signs in the eighth heaven, which is at an infinite distance from them all except perhaps Saturn. Three signs are fire, three earthly, three airy, and three watery ; fire is warm and dry, earth cold and dry, air warm and moist, water cold and moist. Take any sign, the fifth and ninth from it will be of the same complexion. When a warm planet is in a warm sign its heat is increased, in a cold one diminished. No sign has warmth or cold, dryness or moisture, in its substance, but it has the power of exciting these qualities in other things. (p. 20) Thus wine, which is cold and moist in substance, warms and dries. Planets in signs have five prerogatives : House, Exaltation, Triplicity, Face, and Term. These are connected with each other ; the House has five times the importance of the term, Exaltation four, and so on. Each planet has two houses except the Sun and Moon. Saturn has Capricorn and Aquarius, and so on. Exaltation, &c., are not touched on in the book. Some signs are masculine, others feminine. (p. 21) The Sun, Mars, and Jupiter are masculine, the Moon, Venus, and Saturn feminine, Mercury is indifferent. The signs alternate, Aries masculine, Taurus feminine, and so on. The House is sometimes considered as a division of the heavens into twelve parts, from the E. horizon to the nadir (angle of the earth) three houses, (p. 22) from these to the W. horizon three, from these to the zenith three, and from these to the E. horizon three. The first house is called the ascendant. In the figure there are instructions for drawing up the birth diagram, and a note gives the position in which planets are most powerful. (p. 23) The reader is referred to Albumazar for a detailed study. Bacon then adds a note on his famous medicine 'Inestimable Glory'. Mindful of the corruption of his texts he refers readers to Pliny, Arcephius, and to the *De Accidentibus Senectutis*. Further, they must observe the thirteen conditions laid down in the *Antidotary*. The virtue of the medicine lies in due preparation, careful choice of substances, good proportions, and proper mixing and irradiation from the stars. (p. 24) Students have endeavoured to reduce all the elements in food to equality so as to prolong life, and laid down the principles to be followed. But because of the great labour and expense involved very few have gone far into the study. Some however have succeeded, as we have written in our *Experimental Science*, and we have seen one in our own times, who still lives, it is believed, in Germany, and has papal letters to prove his age. Unguents and potions may have a similar effect.

## ADDENDA

### THE ETHICS OF ARISTOTLE

Translated from the Arabic (B.M. Add. 7453, f. 75<sup>v</sup>)

The following are the ‘Ethics of Aristotle’ which he had written down in a book, and used to teach to Alexander :—Every human being has certain needs, and for obtaining every need or object there is a certain way. Whoever strikes upon this way gains his object, and whoever misses the way fails to obtain it. Man needs the good (or happiness) of this world. And the means of obtaining it is reason, and reason is of two kinds : natural and acquired. And learning (or acquired reason) depends upon the soundness of the rational faculty (or natural reason) which in its turn helps to form acquired judgement. And judgement, or the power of thinking rightly, coupled with the acquired action or the power of acting rightly, conduces to the clearness of perception. And the only thing that restricts and disables reason is passion or desire. And passion is of two kinds : instinctive, or that which is caused by the hidden and latent faculties, and actual, or that which results from apparent powers. The former resembles a latent or smouldering fire, and the latter an open or flaming fire. And just as fire is inflamed by the wind, so passion is inflamed by desire ; and as fire is put down by stopping the air from reaching it, so passion is overpowered by controlling desires. And desires can be controlled by means of sound and effective reason. And the soundness of reason is known by its power of distinguishing truths (or facts) from falsehoods, and its effectiveness or strength is judged from its power of controlling the desires and passions. Hence, as reason grows stronger, passions grow weaker, and man progresses towards perfection, by which is meant the power of thinking and acting rightly. And natural wisdom, or the power of knowing the right, is not perfect without actual wisdom, or the power of acting rightly. And when natural judgement preponderates over natural passions, the latter have little power to influence man’s actions, except in case of his appetites, and these are regulated by acquired reason (or judgement) and acquired actions (or the right way of conducting oneself learnt afterwards).

And I have translated in this book some chapters on the advantages of reasoning correctly, a faculty which helps a man throughout the

course of his life. And God alone helps us to do things rightly, and no one has power and strength except Him.

When reason is perfected it assimilates and adds to itself good morals and manners, as a healthy body assimilates and incorporates with itself the food it takes. And morals in their turn nourish and develop reason as food does the body. But when reason is imperfect it rejects good morals and good manners, as a diseased body rejects and fails to assimilate the food it takes, however healthy and nourishing it may be. And if a person of vitiated mind acquires knowledge and is taught good morals, the knowledge turns into sophistry and ignorance, and good morals or virtues into bad morals and vices, even as the nourishing and healthy food taken by a person of diseased body turns into poison.

Hence I admire the wise man whose sound reason proceeds from his sound mind, his sound judgement from his sound knowledge, his knowledge from his logical mode of thought, whose argument is tempered with politeness and pertinence, whose good actions proceed from his good principles, whose good conduct is the result of his good intentions, whose liberality is the outcome of his generosity of disposition, whose charity of true self-denial, and whose efforts are guided by moderation.

Again, that man is worthy of admiration who has acquired the soundness of mind by means of his good character, keenness of intellect through reasoning and investigation, correctness of judgement through his experiences, truthfulness through culture, culture through hard exertions, liberal-mindedness through sympathy and discrimination, perseverance and painstaking through his rigid piety.

But when desire and passions overcome reason, they make virtues turn into vices : forbearance turns into grudging (or secret enmity), knowledge into hypocrisy, wisdom into cunning, culture into boastfulness, eloquence into volubility, generosity into pride (and love of show), economy into miserliness, forgiveness into cowardice. A man in this condition thinks that the only health is the health of the body, and the only knowledge is that of over-reaching and preying upon others, that the only wealth is money, the only firmness is amassing and preserving riches, and that the only power is that of overawing and treading down mankind. And all these qualities lead their possessor further away from happiness and safety and plunge him into misery and destruction.

But when reason preponderates and rules over desire and passions, the very vices turn into virtues : stupidity and dullness turn into gravity and forbearance, impetuosity into ready wittedness, cunning into wisdom, volubility into eloquence, inability to reply into dignified taciturnity, brutality into civility, rashness into valour, timidity into prudence, extravagance into liberality.

Hence the most blessed among mankind is he the greatest of whose

mental faculties is reason, the least of whose wealth is his knowledge, who is decorated with art and ornamented with learning. Whose abundance increases with his thanksgiving to God, and from whom evils are averted by his praying to Him.

But, when a man is deprived of wisdom, no king can make him exalted, and no treasures can make him rich. And whosoever is without faith no teachings of the doctors and theologians can make him a true believer.

A brave man resembles a lion, a cowardly bully a wolf, a cunning person a fox, a fool a donkey. One who has neither exterior nor interior beauty is like a weed, and he who possesses only personal beauty but not mental and moral excellence is like the leopard; one with an ugly exterior, but inner excellence is like the almond. One who combines in himself both the inner and the outer excellences is like the melon of Damascus which is beautiful in colour and shape, fragrant of smell, and sweet in taste.

No untruthful king deserves to be called a king, and no hypocritical hermit merits the name of a hermit. No faithless brother is a brother. No boastful giver deserves to be termed benevolent. A man of learning who does not benefit others with his knowledge is like a miser who buries his treasures.

It is unworthy of a wise man to grieve at the occurrence of misfortunes, for no one whose heart is occupied with sorrow can successfully fight with evils.

He is not truly benevolent who shows kindness only to the good, but he who is kind to all. He is really truthful who speaks the truth to one who has been false to him, and honest is that man who keeps faithful to one who has betrayed him. He is truly just who does justice to one who has been unjust to him.

Likewise truly charitable is he who returns good for evil, forgives his oppressor, and shows generosity to one who has been niggardly towards him, whonever forgets a kindness shown to him, and forgives and forgets the evil done to him. Truly brave is he who pardons his enemy when the latter is at his mercy, and who befriends all those in need of help.

Verily a wise man never feels ashamed of the obscurity of his birth nor grieves on account of poverty.

A wise man seeks the nearness of God instead of that of kings, and fears Him instead of his enemies. He envies no one, and seeks precedence over none. He desires neither the robes of a doctor nor the sceptre of a ruler, nor the pomp of a courtier.

# LE SECRE DE SECREZ

(Bibl. Nat. fr. 25407, ff. 173-196.)

The writer of this version of the *Secret of Secrets* is variously known as Piere d'Abernun, Piere de Vernon and Piere de Peckham. The second is the name by which he was formerly known, and under which he is treated of in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*; but as 'de Vernon' is merely an arbitrary and entirely unnecessary rendering of the 'de Abernun' in l. 2379 of the text it is now no longer used.

Abernon (or Abernun as it was written by the Normans) is the old form of Abenon, a commune of the canton of Orbec, in the arrondissement of Lisieux. The land in the eleventh century belonged to an old Norman family, a branch of which followed the Conqueror to England and came into possession of estates in Cambridgeshire and Surrey. We hear that Enguerand d'Abernon was present at the founding of the Abbey of Savigny in 1112. Piere probably lived towards the middle of the thirteenth century, according to M. Paul Meyer who treats, in his article on the French MSS. in Cambridge (*Romania*, xv, p. 288), of the possible identity of Piere d'Abernon and Piere de Peckham. This identity is accepted by M. Gaston Paris and other critics; it is based chiefly on ll. 2362-7 of this text, but the fact that the Abernon family is known to have settled in England is of importance, and also the resemblance in language and style of the two works, *Le Secré de Secrez* by Piere d'Abernon, and *La Lumere as Lais* by Piere de Peckham. There are several MSS. of this latter poem in England—two in Cambridge, and three in the British Museum—and it is said to be of the thirteenth century.

*Le Secré de Secrez* has been sometimes assigned to a rather earlier date; Barbazon even fixed it so early as before the twelfth century, but the language, as de la Rue pointed out, shows a later development of Anglo-Norman. The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in a volume of pieces of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Primes saciez ke icest treitez [p. 367]  
Est 'Le Secré de Secrez' numez,  
Ke Aristotle, le philosoph ydoine,  
Le fiz Nichomache de Macedoine,  
A sun deciple Alisandre, en bone fei,  
Le grant, le fiz Phelippe le rei,  
Le fist en sa graunt vieslesce  
Quant de cors esteit en fieblesce,  
Pus qu'il ne pout pas travailler  
Ne al rei Alisandre repeirer,      10  
Pur reale bosoine atreiter  
De sun deciple, k'avait mult cher.  
Kar Alisandre en fin l'ameit,  
Kar graunz biens de lui aperneit,

Dunt suverein de sun cunseil esteit,  
Kar prince e mestre le feseit  
Des reaumes de tute sa gent  
Pur sun tres noble entendement.

Cist Aristotle quant viel esteit  
Sa vie en bien mener peneit ;      20  
Entente mist e nuiz e jurs  
Entur vertuz de bone murs.  
Kar asez sout de philosophie,  
De logike e de naturel clergie,

[p. 37]  
Dunt tant come Aristotle vesquist.  
<sup>2</sup> Alisandre partut bien le fist

Line 1 *Of the writing of this treatise.*      9 *Aristotle was too feeble to journey to Alexander.*      15 *Alexander ruled by Aristotle's advice, and therefore became all powerful.*

E bien sun regne governeit  
Par sun sein cunseil ke il useit,  
Dunt partut victoire aveit,  
Partut cunquist, come chies teneit, 30  
Tuz les reaumes cum un feseit,  
A lui entendant le mund esteit.

Aristotle mut espistles feseit [p. 38<sup>3</sup>]  
De morautez, kar il desirait  
Ke chescun bon fust endreit de sei  
E endreit des autres, en bone fei.

Alisandre une epistle envea [p. 38<sup>6</sup>]  
De un respusne ke lui dona  
Quant Alisandre aveit cunquis  
Les Persiens, e trestut suzmis ; 40  
Endreit de ceo si lui mandeit  
Come oir purrez ore endreit.

'O noble mestre, governur de dreit,  
A ta cointise mand orendreit  
Ke jeo ai gent en Perse trové  
De grant sen e grant sutifé,  
Ke s'aforcent d'estudier  
Coment sur autres pussent regner.  
Dunt en purpos sui veirement  
Trestuz occire icele gent ; 50  
Dunt par vostre escrit nus mandez  
'De ceste afere ke vus volez.'

[p. 38<sup>15</sup>]  
Aristotle li remande en teu manere :  
'Si vus poez' fet-il 'changer la terre,  
L'eir e les eues, e des<sup>2</sup> citez  
La disposition changer purrez,  
Fetes, dunques, hardiemment  
De eus trestut vostre talent.  
Si ceo nun, saciez de veir,  
Si seignurie volez utre eus avoir 60  
En bone manere e bonement,  
Oez les deboneirement  
E treitez en amur la gent ;  
E jeo vus afi certainement  
Ke, si si fetez, enseur seez  
Ke de eus frez vos volentez,  
E suget vus serrunt en bon amur  
Par l'aide Deu, nostre Seignur,  
E obeissant en amur vus serrunt,  
E tuz voz comandemenz perforunt, 70  
E si vus amerunt leaument  
E frunt trestut vostre talent.

La victoire de eus issi averez  
E en pes utre eus regnerez.'

Alisandre, quant receu aveit [p. 38<sup>24</sup>]  
L'espistre k'Aristotle li enveoit,  
Sulum sun cunseil pleinement  
<sup>3</sup> Feseit endreit de cele gent ;  
Dunt les Persiens trestuz esteient 79  
A sun empire, plus k'autre n'esteient,  
De tuz les naciuns la gent  
A tuz jurs plus obedient.

Aristotle plus li envea  
Une epistle ou respuns dona  
Alisandre de ceo ke li out  
Mandé avant, ceo ke lui plout,  
Si come orendroit orrez  
Si vostre entente bien i metez ;  
Mes d'Alisandre le mandement  
N'i truvai pas verraiement, 90  
For come Aristotle lui ad tuché  
En le espistre ki ad mandé  
A Alisandre generaument,  
Dunt treite apres especiaument.

De ceste epistle si est la tenur: [p. 40<sup>5</sup>]  
'O glorijs fiz empereür,  
Deu te cunferme, pur sa puissance,  
En dreiture e en conuissance,  
Vus meine de vertuz en veritez  
E vus toille, pur ses poestez, 100  
Tut vostre bestial talent,  
E de tun regne doint aforcement  
E de engin esluminement  
<sup>4</sup> A lui servir a sun talent !

[p. 40<sup>16</sup>]  
'Cher sire, si vus plust entendre  
Ne me dussez blamer ne reprendre  
Ke ne vieng a vus a tun talent,  
Kar saciez le, sire, veraient,  
Ke nel faz mie en desdein,  
Einz est l'encheisun, seez certain, 110  
Pesantume d'age e fieblesce  
Ke met mun cors en grant destresce  
E me rent en tant nunpoer  
Ke ne pus pas ver vus mover.

Mes<sup>5</sup> la chose ke demandastes [p. 40<sup>21</sup>]  
E de moi saver desirastes

Line 33 Aristotle wrote a letter of advice about the Persians. 37 Alexander's letter about the Persians. 53 Aristotle's answer. 61 Alexander must use kindness towards them, and they will become loyal. 75 Aristotle's advice was followed with success. 83 Alexander again asked for counsel, but his letter is lost. 95 Aristotle's second letter. 108 He excuses himself for not waiting upon the king. 115 Alexander's demand is very searching, but Aristotle must answer.

<sup>1</sup> f. 174 r<sup>o</sup> a.      <sup>2</sup> l. 55, des] MS. les.      <sup>3</sup> f. 174 r<sup>o</sup> b.      <sup>4</sup> f. 174 v<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>5</sup> l. 115, The rubricator has omitted the paragraph mark indicated by the scribe.

Est ſeu priveté veraient  
K'a peine humeine entendement  
Le purra ſuffrir a enquerre.  
Coment dunc par quel afere

120

Eſcrit en parchemin apertement ?  
Pust ceo k'enquerre vus apent  
E a mei atreiter leaument  
Saciez ke fort est veraient,  
Mes il me covient e ſui en dette  
De la reſponſe ke m'entreſette,

E vus eſteſ deu par raisun  
Entendre la par diſcretioun ;

Kar ſi c'eſt livre regardez

<sup>1</sup> Ke vus envei, e ſtudiez,  
E liſez volenters e ſovent  
Iſſi ke en eiez entendement  
E pleinement eiez trefut conceu  
Quanke eſt el livre contenu,

Sanz doute jeo crei veirement  
Ke ja n'aura deſturbement

Entre vus e ceo k'avez

De ſaver avant deſirrez.

Kar Deu vus a doné veirement

Tant grace e entendement  
E viſteſce d'engin e letrure

E de ma doctrine ausi la cure,  
K'apris avez de mei avant,

Ke certain crei eſtre de taunt

Ke par vus meimes le conqueſtez,  
E quanke l'i a bien entendez,

E ceo primeſ aviez en deſir

Saurez tut a tun pleiſir ;

Kar de ta volenté la fervence  
Vus durra veie de ſcience

140

A vostre purpoſ a venir

E a la fin de vostre deſir

Sulum l'aie Noſtre Seignur :

Deu nus doint de lui ſocur !' [p. 41<sup>3</sup>]

{O}re comence l'espéciale

<sup>2</sup> Reſponce apres la générale. [p. 42<sup>29</sup>]

Quatre reis ſunt : li premer rei

Larges eſt a(s) ſuens e aſei ;

Li autre eſt aver endreit li

E endreit de ſes <sup>3</sup> ſugez ausi ;

160

Le tierz eſt aver endreit ſei

E larges as ſuens en bone fei ;

Le quart vers ſei ad la largesce

E vers ſes ſugez ad la deſtreſce.

Les Lumbarz diſcient, en bone fei,

Ke ceo n'eſt mie vice a rei  
Eſtre endreit ſei meimes aver  
E largesce endreit des ſuens aver.

Les Indiens diſcient ke bons eſt li rei  
Ke aver eſt a(s) ſuens e a ſei. 170

Les Persiens le cuſtraire affermeient,  
E le cuſtraire as Indiens diſcient,  
E diſcient ke rien ne vaut le rei  
Si as ſuens n'eſt larges e a ſei.

Mes entre trefuz veraient  
Peiir eſt, par mun jugement,  
Le rei kicunke ceo ſeit  
Ki a ſei eſt larges e a ſuens eſtreit ;  
Kar le regne a tel veraient  
Deſtruit eſt toſt ſubitemeſt. 180

Pur ceo covient veraient [p. 43<sup>6</sup>]

<sup>4</sup> De ceo enquerre ſuſtivement  
De ces vices e vertuz,  
E queſ ert dreit large tenuz,  
E quei ſeit numé dreit largesce  
E quei avarice ki fet deſtreſce,  
E ou chiet en largesce errur,  
E quel mal en vient a chief de tur  
A celui ki ne fet largesce  
Mes de ſes biens fet deſtreſce. 190

Dunt eſt a ſaver e ſeez certain [p. 43<sup>9</sup>]

Ke quant la chose paſſe la maen

Cele chose eſt a reprover

Quant al main ne puet acorder.

E pur ceo ke fort eſt a hurter

Le dreit point de largesce aver

(E ſi eſt le meins ou plus leger

Par gaſt ou avarice a hanter)

Pur ceo eſt fort, ſaciez de veir,

Pure largesce a dreit ſaveir.

200

[p. 43<sup>14</sup>]

Pur ceo, ſi volez largesce aver,

Regardez primeſ tun poer;

Regarder ausi le tens devez

Des boſoignes e de neceſſitez,

E ſi devez regarder enſement

Deserte e merite de la gent.

Pur ceo devez vus doner

<sup>5</sup> Sulum l'eſtent de tun poer

Line 127 Alexander will divine the ſecret.

139 For he has great insight.

155 The Treatise.

157 Of generosity and avarice. Four kinds of kings.

165 Which is the best kind?

181 We must examine and find the nature of true liberality.

191 Extremes are to be avoided.

201 Consider your means, the needs, and the merits of those you help.

<sup>1</sup> f. 174 v<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>2</sup> f. 175 r<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>3</sup> l. 160, ſes] MS. ces.

<sup>4</sup> f. 175 r<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>5</sup> f. 175 v<sup>o</sup> a.

A gent ke sunt dignes e unt mester  
Si dreit largesce volez aver. 210  
Kar saciez le verraiement  
Ke celui ke fet autrement  
Encuntrue la riule pecche e mesprant  
De largesce tut utrement.  
Kar ki done a tel ki mester n'a  
Ja merite de ceo n'aura ;  
E ki ke dune a ces ki ne sunt mie  
Dignes tut pert e fait folie ;  
E ki utre mesure sun avoir  
Done, saciez le de veir 220  
K'al port amer tost avendra  
De Poverté, ou arivera,  
E a celui ressemblera  
Ke dune la victoire qu'il a  
A ses enemis sanz respit.  
Fous est cil ke si se vit.

Celui dunkes ki durra [p. 43<sup>23</sup>]  
As bons quant mester serra,  
Ke bosoigne unt en bone fei,  
Celui est dreit large rei, 230  
Kar a sei est large verraiement  
E a ses sugez ensement.  
Le regne a tel s'esforcera,  
<sup>1</sup> E quanke il comande fet serra.  
Itel rei de auntiens loé fu,  
Entempré e larges dit en vertu.

Le rei ke dune veraient [p. 43<sup>27</sup>]  
Les biens du regne inordeinement  
A ces ke pas digne ne sunt  
Ne d'autre part mester n'en unt 240  
Celui est en verité  
Del bien del people wastur numè  
E del regne destruuir.  
Dunt rien ne vaut tel governur,  
Kar il est wastur en verité  
E si est il a dreit numé,  
Kar rien ne vaut, saciez sans dotance,  
Al regne ke tient sa purveance.

E saciez ausi ke avarice [p. 43<sup>27</sup>]  
Si est a rei tres grant vice, 250  
Einz descovient en verité  
A la reale majesté.

Si aucun rei dunkes a d'avarice  
Ou de fole largesce la vice

Si se deit cunseiller utrement,  
E purveer ententivement  
Un leal humme e descret tenu,  
Ke de muz seit eslu,  
A ki deit utrement bailler  
<sup>2</sup> Les bosoigne del reaume atreiter 260  
E l'aver despender e governer  
Si come verra mieuz espleiter.

O Alisandre, noble rei, [p. 44<sup>7</sup>]  
Fermement vus di, en bone fei,  
Celui ki veut continuer  
Seignurie utre poer,  
E utre mesure veut tenir  
Plus ke sun regne ne put suffrir,  
Saciez ke teu rei destruera  
E sanz doute destruit serra. 270

Pur ces uncore le vus di, [p. 44<sup>10</sup>]  
E suuent l'avez de moi oi,  
Ke d'avarice l'abatement  
E de fole largesce ensement,  
E aver largesce, come dis enceis,  
Est joie e gloire des reis,  
E si est ausi confernement  
Des regnes pardurablement.  
E saciez ke ceste chose avient  
Quant rei ou prince se detient 280  
E retreat sa main ke ne s'entremet  
Des biens ke lui sunt suget,  
Ne ne lur vuet de rien grever ;  
Itel rei puet a dreit regner.  
Dunt jeo trovai escrit ades  
<sup>3</sup> De cel grant mestre Hermogenes  
Ke la suveraine e verrai bunté,  
E de veraie entendement clarté,  
E si est plenieré de lei  
E signe de perfection en rei, 290  
La abstinence ver sugez aver  
Ke rien ne preigne de lur aver.

[p. 44<sup>19</sup>]  
Del regne de Chaldeus l'encheisun  
De tute la destruction  
Fu en despenses, en verité,  
La tresgraunt superfluité ;  
Kar les despenses plus amunteient <sup>4</sup>  
Ke les rentes des citez ne feseient,  
E quant rentes et despenses faillirent  
Les reis lur meins estendirent 300  
As choses e as rentes utrement

Line 227 *The truly generous king.*  
249 *Avarice is a great vice.* 253 *An avaricious or spendthrift king should depuit a wise man to spend money.* 279 *The truly generous king respects the rights of his subjects.* 289 *So says Hermogenes.*

237 *The false generosity of a king.*  
293 *The cause of the downfall of the Chaldeans.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 175 v<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>2</sup> f. 176 r<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>3</sup> f. 176 r<sup>o</sup> b.

MS. amunterunt.

<sup>4</sup> l. 297, amunteient]

Des sugez torcenusement.

[p. 44<sup>22</sup>]

Les sugez dunkes pur le tort grant  
Crierent a Deu le tut puissant,  
Ki vent e tempeste i envea  
Ke tres fierement les turmenta,  
E grant poeple tost cuntre eus leva  
E lur nun de terre del tut osta,  
E si ne fu ceo ke Deu si out mis  
Le regne destriut fust a tut dis. 310

Saciez le dunc ke sanz aver [p. 44<sup>23</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> Ne puet le people pas lunc durer,  
Ne saunz . . . . .  
Ne puet rei regne governer.

Pur ceo fet, en verité,  
A eschivre superfluité  
E d'espenses trop habundance ;  
Ke si le fet ne fet pas ensaunce.

[p. 44<sup>24</sup>]

Pur ceo covient temperance aver  
Ki veut largesce purchacer, 320  
Kar trop e folement duner  
Fet a eschivre et reprover.  
E si est de largece la sustenance  
Volentiers pardunersanz dotance. [p. 45<sup>1</sup>]  
Ne ne fet des privetez d'autrui  
Ne des secrez enquere, saciez de fi ;  
Ne ne fet pas a remembrer  
Chose donee ne a rehercer ;  
E si est de bunte e vertu [p. 45<sup>2</sup>]  
Renumber ceo k'est avenu, 330  
E tort volentiers relessier,  
E honorables honurer.  
E si deit ausi a simple gent  
Aidier debonерement ;  
As innocens si <sup>2</sup> deit suvenir,  
A lur defautes paremplir.  
Respundre deit benignement  
<sup>3</sup> A salutacion de la gent,  
E sa lange deit refrener,  
E tort a tens dissumuler, 340  
E feindre de fol la folie  
Ausi cum ne la sache mie.

Enseigné vus ai en bone fei [p. 45<sup>3</sup>]

Ceo ke avant enseigner solei  
Tuz jurs, e en vostre quor, seigner,  
Bien sai nel volez oblier ;

Line 315 *Avoid extravagance, therefore.*  
a king. 343 *You have learning.*  
better. 359 *Of understanding.*  
coveted for the sake of renown. 393 *The offspring of envy.*

Pur ceo m'afi veraient  
Ke vus tiegnez ces du cement,  
E vos veies e fetz tenez  
E si en estes esluminez 350  
E si avez science e clergie  
A vus governer tote ta vie.

Nepurquant, vus di, sapience [p. 45<sup>15</sup>]  
Naturele enbrechie science.  
E meske ja n'usse dit ceo k'est avant  
Fors sus le sen ke est ensivant  
Enfin vus suffisera asez  
A tuz voz covres ke ferez.

Saciez dunc k'entendement [p. 45<sup>16</sup>]  
Est chief de governement, 360  
Santé del alme, e gardein  
Des vertuz, seez certain,  
E si est espiur des pecchez,  
<sup>4</sup> Kar en li regardum, bien le sacez,  
Les maus ke sunt a despire  
E les biens ke devum eslire.  
Il est des vertuz nesance,  
E si est racine, sanz doutance,  
Des duns ke sunt a preiser  
E honorables sanz reprover ; 370  
E si en est veraient  
De tuz biens premier estrument.

[p. 45<sup>24</sup>]  
Entendement, saciez, sanz blame  
Est desir de bone fame,  
E ki de bone fame est desirus  
Bons ert a tuz e gloriis ;  
E ki la desire feintement,  
Saciez le veraient,  
Par infamie ert confundu  
E par esclandre ert viel tenu. 380

Saciez dunc ke principaument  
Est fame eslue en governement,  
Kar regne pur sei n'est desirez,  
Einz est pur bone fame saciez ;  
Dunc est, saciez, commencement  
De sapience e d'entendement  
Desir de bone fame en vie,  
K'est cunquis par regne e seignurie ;  
E celui ke purchace autrement  
<sup>5</sup> Regne ou seignurie, veraient 390  
Pur bone fame ne cunquert mie,  
Mes fait utrement par envie.

[p. 46<sup>1</sup>]  
D'envie est mencunge engendre

325 *Of other conduct befitting*  
353 *And also natural wisdom, which is*  
373 *Of good fame.* 381 *Empire is*  
*coveted for the sake of renown.* 393 *The offspring of envy.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 176 v<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>2</sup> l. 335, si] MS. li.

<sup>3</sup> f. 176 v<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>4</sup> f. 177 r<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>5</sup> f. 177 r<sup>o</sup> b.

K'est racine de chose reprovee  
 E si est matire entirement  
 De vices, saciez veralement :  
 Kar envie engendre detractiun,  
 Detractiun hange engendre en sun,  
 Hange engendre tort suvent,  
 Tort inobedience ensement, 400  
 Inobedience ire sanz dutance,  
 E ire engendre repugnance  
 E repugnance engendre enemistez  
 E enemistez bataille asez,  
 Bataille la lei tute deset,  
 Les citez destruit par grant forset,  
 K'est contraire a nature sanz dutance,  
 E ki ke fet a nature repugnaunce  
 Tut l'oure, saciez vereiment,  
 Destruit trestut outrement. 410

Estudiez dunkes e amez [p. 46<sup>10</sup>]  
 E le desir de bone fame eiez.  
 Kar le desir de bone fame  
 Estreit verite sanz blame,  
 Verite est racine, sanz fable,  
<sup>1</sup> E matire de tuz biens aloble :  
 Kar contraire est a menciunge pure  
 E si engendre desir de dreiture,  
 Dreiture engendre afiance,  
 Afiance largesce sanz enfance, 420  
 Largesce fet especiaute,  
 Speciaute fet amisté,  
 Amisté engendre en ceste vie  
 Dreit cunseil e bone aie.  
 Par ceo saciez ke le mund fu  
 Ordiné e tut conceu  
 E la lei establee a gent  
 Ke a raison e a nature apent ;  
 Pur ceo desir de governement [p. 46<sup>17</sup>] 430  
 Pur bone fame aver leaument  
 Est veralement loable  
 E bien ke est en fin durable.

[p. 46<sup>21</sup>]  
 O Alisandre, k'estes de ma doctrine  
 Enseigné e enbeu en ta petrine,  
 Restreignez en tei les appetiz  
 Ke viennent de charneus deliz,  
 Kar teus appetiz l'alme decline  
 As corruptibles volentez, sanz fausine,  
 Bestiales, saunz descretion  
 Ou purveance ne vient en reisun, 440  
 Mes el cors corruptible veralement  
<sup>2</sup> Ert alué, e rendra dolent

Le incorruptible entendement ;  
 Si en irra l'afere malement.

[p. 46<sup>2</sup>]

Saciez dunke ke l'aforcement  
 Ke vint de delit charneument  
 Si engendre charnel amur,  
 E amur avarice a chief de tur,  
 E pus engendre avarice apres  
 Le desir de divices aver ades, 450  
 E cel desir de divices tant amunte  
 Ke fet un humme estre sanz hunte,  
 E estre sanz hunte veralement  
 Engendre sole emprise suvent ;  
 Fole emprise desleauté met en fin  
 E de desleauté vient larecin,  
 De larecin est esclandre engendré,  
 De laquelle si nest cheitiveté  
 Ke desuz met humme en ceste vie  
 E deset des bons la cumpaignie, 460  
 E met le cors a destructiun,  
 Ka(r) a nature est contraire e a reisun.

A rei covient premierement, [p. 47<sup>6</sup>]  
 Quant a sei meimes principaument,  
 Ke en bone fame en verité  
 Seit sun nun despeoplé,  
 E k'en sapience seit loable,  
<sup>3</sup> E k'a ses hummes seit resunable  
 E k'a eus paroge sagement,  
 Kar saciez le veralement 470  
 Ke dunc serra de eus honuré  
 E par ceo cremu e douté ;  
 Kar de ceo ert duté ki s'eloquence  
 Veit, e entent sa sapience  
 De tuz, saciez verraiement.  
 E si puet en legierement [p. 47<sup>11</sup>]  
 Par certains signes bien saver  
 E legierement apercever  
 En rei le quel, sen ou folie,  
 Ert en li la seignurie. 480  
 Kar saciez ke cil est digne rei  
 Ke sun regne sumet a la Deu lei ;  
 Seignurie aura utre la gent  
 E regnera honourablement.  
 Mes celui ke la lei Deu sumet  
 E fet a sun regne suget,  
 Celi a (a) verité sanz respit  
 Trespassé, si ad en despit  
 Sa lei, e ki en despit a  
 Lei de verité en despit serra  
 De tuz, si ert condempné

Line 411 *The offspring of the desire for good fame.* 433 *Of the indulgence of the appetites.* 445 *Offspring of the indulgence of the appetites.* 463 *The king must be renowned for wisdom.* 481 *Of the religion of a king.*

En la lei, saciez, de verité.

[p. 47<sup>21</sup>]

Derechief vus di ke la sage gent  
<sup>1</sup> De philosophie e d'entendement,  
 Ke lur divinité parleient  
 E de ceo apertement diseient  
 Ke reale majesté avient  
 E en dreiture le covient  
 Reales constitucions aver,  
 E a ceo sanz feintise acorder,  
 Ne mie en feintise d'apparence  
 Mes dreit en aperte fesance,  
 Ke tuz veient e scient certain  
 K'il dute Deu le suverain,  
 E k'il veient trestuz par tant  
 Ke suget seit al Tut-Puissant ;  
 E par itant en bone fei  
 Duterunt e honurrunt lur rei  
 Quant il le veient Deu douter  
 E en tutes maneres honurer.

500

510

Mes si sa religiun sulement [p. 47<sup>27</sup>]  
 Seit en aparance devant la gent,  
 E seit en eovre maufesant,  
 De Deu ert reprové par itant  
 E serra en despit de gent  
 E defamez en ert verairement ;  
 Kar fort est malement overer  
 E l'ovre al people dunc celer.  
 L'empire a tel e de gloire l'onur  
<sup>2</sup> Ert ennient a chief de tur.

520

Ke volez vus ke plus en die ? [p. 48<sup>1</sup>]  
 N'est pris ne tresor en ceste vie  
 Ke pust el siecle tant valer  
 Come fet de bone fame aver.

Ensuketut a rei apent, [p. 48<sup>6</sup>]  
 Saciez le verairement,  
 Les sires des leis honurer,  
 Religiun en reverence aver,  
 Les sages eshaucer  
 E ovek eus treiter dutes muver 530  
 E honestes questiuns demander,  
 E de eus apprendre dunke coment  
 Respondre pust enseurement.  
 Les plus sages e les plus nobles deit  
 Plus honurer ; sulum ceo ke veit  
 K'a chescun estait apent  
 Les deit honurer veirement.

530

[p. 48<sup>12</sup>]

Ensuketut covient rei penser  
 Coment pust sagement arester,  
 As cas ke puissent avenir, 540  
 Ke de plus legier le pust suffrir ;  
 Purver se deit sagement  
 K'eschape de ennui legicrement.

E si apent a rei, devez saver, [p. 48<sup>16</sup>]  
 Sur tute rien pitié aver,  
<sup>3</sup> E remuer deit le movement  
 D'irus corage utrement,  
 Ke depurveuement, sanz deliverance,  
 Ne se deit mie en male fesance.  
 Sun errur deit reisunablement 550  
 Conustre e repeler sagement,  
 Kar suveraine sapience est a rei  
 A deit governer meimes sei.

[p. 48<sup>19</sup>]

Quant rei veit dunc k'est bien a fere,  
 Ou profitable chose que seit a fere,  
 Face le o disresciun,  
 Ne mie trop tart mes en reisun,  
 Ne trop tost, ke veu ne seit  
 Trop hastif ne lent en sun dreit.

[p. 48<sup>25</sup>]

E saciez ausi en verité 560  
 K'il avient a reale majesté  
 Estre vestu honorablement,  
 E tuz jurs o bel apparaillement  
 De chiers e de beau vestement  
 E des plus estranges ensement  
 Se deit entre la gent apparer,  
 Ke en beaute les autres pust surmunter,  
 Kar bien saciez k'a rei apent,  
 Pur sun poer ke ad utre gent,  
 Les autres en tuz poinz surmunter 570  
 Ne vus dei pas iceo celer,  
<sup>4</sup> Par unt sa digneté seit enbelie ;  
 E ke sa poesté ne seit blemie  
 Chescun li face en sa science,  
 Come a rei, due reverence.  
 D'autre part apent a rei  
 Aver facunde sanz desrei  
 Haute, e la voiz haute e clere,  
 Ke mut profite a grant manere  
 En tens quant bataille avient, 580  
 Kar en teu tens haut parler covient.

[p. 49<sup>2</sup>]

O Alisandre, kar ore m'entendez :  
 Bele chose e honorable est, saciez,

Line 500 *It must be genuine in word and deed.* 508 *Then will the people honour him.* 511 *A feigned piety will only bring him into contempt.* 525 *Of honouring the wise.* 538 *Of foresight.* 544 *Of self-control.* 560 *Of rich apparel.* 576 *The king must speak well and clearly.* 582 *Of being spare of speech.*

A rei trop parler desporter  
 Fors quant il veit ke seit mester,  
 Kar mieuz vaut <sup>le</sup> gent cient desir  
 La eloquence de lui oïr  
 K'estre, saciez de verité,  
 De ses paroles trop asarcé ;  
 Kar des orailles la saulté      590  
 Le corage ensarxit, en verité.  
 Si ne vendrunt, en bone fei,  
 La gent sovent pur ver tel rei.

D'autre part a rei apent      [p. 49<sup>9</sup>]  
 K'il ne vienge pas trop suvent  
 Ne ne hante trop suvent mie  
 De ses sugez la cumpaignie,  
<sup>1</sup> De viles personnes numeement ;  
 Kar teu chose pas a rei n'apent,  
 Kar trop familierté a gent      600  
 Despit engendre de humme sovent.

Pur ceo est bele veirement      [p. 49<sup>15</sup>]  
 La costume de Indiene gent  
 Del regne en la dispositiun  
 E del rei l'ordinatiun  
 K'avient issi establicz  
 Ke le rei en l'an une feiz  
 S'apparrait entre tute sa gent  
 Od precius e real vestement,  
 Od gent armez trop fierement,      610  
 A sun destrier asis noblement,  
 Des armes tresbel aürné ;  
 E pus apres unt comandé  
 Le people luinz aukes ester,  
 Les nobles baruns aprecher  
 Al rei, ki soleit dunkes treiter  
 Des granz bosoignes a espleiter,  
 Les aventures esclarir e mustrer,  
 E les bosoignes parfurnier,      620  
 E quanke al regne e a la gent  
 Apendist demustrer leaument.

Si soleit en cel jur le rei      [p. 49<sup>23</sup>]  
 Doner granz duns, en bone fei ;  
<sup>2</sup> E ces ki ne furent pas trop copable  
 Delivra de prisun, sanz fable,  
 E ces ki esteient de charge grevez  
 Par lui sunt cel jur relevez,  
 E mult des eovres feseit de pitié

A icel jur en verité.

[p. 49<sup>26</sup>]      630

Le rei, apres ceo, se seraet,  
 E un des princes se levereit,  
 Ke plus fu sages e habundance  
 Eust en parole, sanz enfance.  
 E s'aforcera a preiser  
 Le rei a sun honur eshaucier,  
 E rendra graces al glorius De  
 Ke le regne ad si ordené,  
 E de si sage rei ausi  
 Par unt lur pais est enbeli,  
 E k'ad fet Indiene gent      640  
 Au rei acordant e obedient,  
 E ke les ad issi consermé  
 Ke sun d'un quor, dunt sunt loé.      [p. 49<sup>34</sup>]

Puis, apres ceo ke ad Deu loez  
 E le rei en honur preisez,  
 S'en turne a la gent loer  
 E lur bones murs number  
 Pur atrere lur bone voilance ;  
 Si les amene sanz dotance  
<sup>3</sup> Par ensample e par raisun,      650  
 Pur mover lur discretion,  
 A humilité e obedience  
 E a amur del rei e reverence.

Pur ceo tut le people apres      [p. 50<sup>4</sup>]  
 Estudia coment loer ades  
 Pust le rei, a sun nun eshaucer,  
 E ses bones covres recunter ;  
 E chescun dunkes endreit sei  
 Prea pur la vie le rei,  
 E par les cités e les meignees      660  
 Ses eovres e sen furent cuntees.      [p. 50<sup>7</sup>]

E pur ceo enseignerent, sanz dutance,  
 Lur enfanz e treiterent de enfance  
 Ke le rei dussent amer,  
 Obeir, duter e honurer.  
 En ceste manere ert publié  
 E acrestra en verité  
 La fame le rei certeinement  
 En secré e apertement.

[p. 50<sup>11</sup>]  
 D'autre <sup>4</sup> part costume esteit      670  
 Les mals fesanz, quant tens seraet,

Line 594 *Of over-familiarity.*  
 connexiōn.      607 *The king appeared among his people once a year.*      616 *He spoke of state-matters,*      622 *gave gifts,*      624 *released prisoners, and did other deeds of mercy.*      630 *Then a noble spoke in praise of the king,*      644 *and of the people.*      654 *The people then praised the king among themselves,*      662 *and taught their children to honour him.*

602 *Of the custom of the Indians in this*  
*616 He*  
*622 gave gifts,*      624 *released prisoners, and did*  
*other deeds of mercy.*      630 *Then a noble spoke in praise of the king,*      644 *and*  
*of the people.*      654 *The people then praised the king among themselves,*      662  
*and taught their children to honour him.*      670 *Traitors and malefactors, too,*  
*were punished.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 179 r<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>2</sup> f. 179 v<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>3</sup> f. 179 v<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>4</sup> l. 670, sign omitted as in l. 115, &c.

E les feluns le rei punir  
E, sulum lei, vie tolir,  
Ke les uns fussent chastiez  
E les autres par ceo amendez.

<sup>1</sup> A cel tens soleient alegier [p. 50<sup>14</sup>]  
La gent de truages paer ;

E as marchanz grace soleient fere  
Ke converserent en cele terre,  
De lur rentes partie relesserten 680  
E lur meiz e eus garderent  
E defendirent. Dunt de Inde le nun  
Poplié mut est; par cele raisun  
Marchanz par tut i acurent,  
E la gent de la terre les honurent  
E receivent, e gainent citeins  
Riches e povres e les foreins,  
E de ceo vient en verité  
Ke la rente le rei est enoitie.

[p. 50<sup>22</sup>]

Par ceo fet a eschivre en terre 690  
Marchant corocer ou tort fere,  
Kar il portent fame de gent  
Par le siecle utrement.  
Pur ceo a chescun sulum ke c'est  
Est a rendre ceo ke suen est,  
Kar issi serrunt les citez  
Garniz e rentes multipliez,  
E si acrestera, en bone fei,  
L'onur e la gloire le rei ;  
Siserrunt ses enemis continuament 700  
Rebuté e confus ensement.

<sup>2</sup> Dunt si en teu manere vivez  
E sur les autres issi regnez,  
En peis e seurement vendrez  
A voz desirs e volentez.

O Alisandre, ne desirez mie [p. 50<sup>31</sup>]  
Choses corruptibles en ceste vie  
E ke passent legierelement,  
Ke lesser covient subitement ;  
Mes desirez richesce estable 710  
E la vie ke n'est pas changable  
E le regne k'est pardurable  
Ou joie ad e gloire durable.

Voz pensees dunc adrescez [p. 50<sup>34</sup>]  
E tuz jurs en biens remenez,  
Dreite homesce en vus eez  
E gloriis en Deu vus rendez.

La vie de bestes eschivez,  
Par reisun menez tes volentez.  
Par manasces ne par demustrance 720  
Ne secz pas cruel, kar c'est enfance ;  
Dur a esparnier ne secz  
A ces dunt victoire avez.

[p. 51<sup>3</sup>]

Pensez des choses k'est a venir  
E de cas ke pust survenir,  
Kar vus ne poez pas saver  
Quei le jur a venir puet engendrer.<sup>3</sup>

[p. 51<sup>4</sup>]

<sup>4</sup> Voz desirs ke viennent ne sivez mie  
En beivres ne en mangerie,  
Ne en dormir dejurs, n'en lecherie, 730  
Kar saciez ke c'est male vic.

[p. 51<sup>6</sup>]

Pur ceo, Emperur, reisun vus prie  
Ke femmes ne purgisez mie,  
Kar teu chose est en verité  
A porc dreit une propriété ;  
Queu chose dunc ou gloire aurez  
Quant teu vice averez haunte  
Ke de beste est propriété  
Ke reisun n'unt en verité ?

[p. 51<sup>10</sup>]

Ore me creez seurement 740  
Ke teu trespas verairement  
Fet la gent enfeminez,  
Dunt mal apres en est engendrez.

Saciez k'a emperur apent [p. 51<sup>18</sup>]  
Privez aver de lele gent  
Od lesquels dunc parlera  
Quant en enui aucun serra,  
Od tute manere d'estrument  
Sulum le delit k'eiment la gent ;  
Kar l'alme d'umme natureument 750  
Se delite en estrument,  
Kar les sens dunkes se reposent,  
Pensers e curiosité forclosent,  
<sup>5</sup> E, saciez ceo, jeo vus afi  
Ke le cors en ert aviguri.

Si vus avez dunc le voleir  
En ceo pur vus deliter,  
Itele vie au plus demenez  
Treis jurs ou katre ou come verrez  
Ke mieuz scit ; e plus honesté 760  
Est ke seit fet en priveté.

Line 678 *Graces were conceded to merchants.* 690 *Of the treatment of merchants.* 706 *Of the desire for earthly things.* 720 *Be not cruel.*  
724 *Think of the morrow.* 728 *Do not indulge the passion of the moment.*  
744 *Of the diversion of a king.* 760 *It is better that it should be done in secret.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 180 r<sup>o</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> f. 180 r<sup>o</sup> b.<sup>4</sup> f. 180 v<sup>o</sup> a.<sup>3</sup> l. 727, engendrer] MS. engendrir.<sup>5</sup> f. 180 v<sup>o</sup> b.

[p. 51<sup>27</sup>]

E quant vus en cest solaz serrez  
Le beivre aidunc desportez,  
E lessez autres a covenir  
De beivre quant lur vient a pleisir;  
En corage corociez vus feinez,  
Kar dunc aparcever purrez  
Mute choses e oir  
E secrez ke pussent avenir.  
Mes ceste chose sovent pas fet ne seit 770  
Mes douz fiez ou treis en l'an tut dreit.

Entur vus de ta meisnee ciez [p. 52<sup>1</sup>]  
Le plus especiaus ke vus avez,  
Ke dire vus pussent entrehet  
De choses k'en tun regne sunt fet,  
E ke choses ausi ke sunt cuntez  
Par tun regne enquere pussiez.

Entredeus travaus honorez [p. 52<sup>5</sup>]  
Les sages e ces ke verrez  
<sup>1</sup> Ke <sup>2</sup> par deserte honurer devez, 780  
E chescun en sun estait tenez.

Un hui a tun mangier preez, [p. 52<sup>7</sup>]  
Un autre demein ki vus volez;  
Un hui a vus atreez,  
Un autre demain ausi le frez  
E sulum chescun i degre  
Chescun seit de vus honure.  
N'el ne seit de ta noble gent  
Ke de ta largesce ne s'en sent,  
E a tuz perge la bunté 790  
De vostre reale majesté,  
E la noblesce a chescun sage  
Perge de tun liberal corage.

[p. 52<sup>12</sup>]

Entre les autres choses veirement  
Saciez k'a chescun rei apent  
Descretiun e contenance aver;  
De trop rire se deit desporter,  
Kar trop rire, saciez verairement,  
Tout reverence de la gent  
E vielesce sout engendrer, 800  
Pur ceo fet bien a desporter.

Ensuketut devez saver [p. 52<sup>16</sup>]  
Ke le rei la gent plus honurer

Deit en sa curt, veraient,  
E en consitoire ensement [p. 52<sup>11</sup>]  
<sup>3</sup> Plus k'allurs ; kar dunc apent  
Al rei fees fere dreit a la gent  
K'allurs sunt a tort grevez,  
Là deivent estre relevez; 809  
Dunt si les riches as autres funt *tort*  
Là covient aver resort;  
Dunt les nobles e hauz sunt a punir  
Ou la gent del people covient morir.

Dunc est bien aver rigur, [p. 52<sup>24</sup>]  
E cunitance garder, sanz folur,  
Issi ke seit entre le rei  
E ses sugez, sanz desrei,  
Difference e destincieusun  
Entre personnes, kar c'est reisun;  
Kar escrit est en vérité 820  
El livre Esculape numé  
Ke le rei est mut a preiser [p. 52<sup>27</sup>]  
E si fet ausi mut a amer  
Ke ressemble al egle en ceste vie  
Ke sur tuz oiseaus ad seignurie,  
Ne mie celui k'al oiselet  
Resemble, ke li est suget.

Pur ceo ki k'en la cort le rei [p. 52<sup>29</sup>]  
Ou en sa presence fet un desrei  
Ou tort ou chose ke n'est a fere, 830  
A regarder est a enquere  
<sup>4</sup> Coment il feseit itel damage;  
Encerchier deit um sun corage  
Si en juant le fet solement  
Pur solacer e reheiter la gent,  
Ou en despit de ta digneté  
E en deshonur de ta reauté.  
Si en giu seit fet solement  
Pardoné seit legierement;  
Si ceo seit fait par felonie  
Dreit est ke perde la vie. 840

O Alisandre, seez certain [p. 53<sup>8</sup>]  
Ke obedience a soverein  
En katre choses dreit se estent:  
En religiun e amur ensement,  
En curteisie e reverence.  
Saciez ke c'est grant science.

Line 762 *Feign only to drink, but encourage others to do so.* 770 *Such things should be done seldom.* 772 *Have friends near you to report the doings and sayings of the people.* 778 *Of honouring men as they deserve.* 788 *Let every noble feel your graciousness.* 794 *Of immoderate laughter.* 802 *Of the king's court.* 814 *Of circumstance and ceremony.* 828 *Permit no disorder in the court.* 831 *See if a disturbance be made in jest or not,* 838 *and punish accordingly.* 842 *Four causes of obedience to a king.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 181 r<sup>o</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> l. 780, Kc] MS. Kar.<sup>3</sup> f. 181 r<sup>o</sup> b.<sup>4</sup> f. 181 v<sup>o</sup> a.

Alisandre, a vus convertez [p. 53<sup>b</sup>]  
 Les corages as sugez ke vus avez ;  
 Lur trespass e lur tort oster. 850  
 A la gent matire pas ne donez  
 Ke mal pussent parler de vus,  
 Kar le pueple tot a estrus,  
 Quant mal de vus dire purreit,  
 De legier cuntrue vus serreit.  
 Continez vus dunc issi, cheir sire,  
 Ke mal ne pussent cuntrue vus dire  
<sup>1</sup> E par tant, bien le saciez,  
 Tut lur malfere eschivercz.

[p. 53<sup>10</sup>]

Ensuketut saciez de verite 860  
 Ke descretiun e meurté  
 Gloire est de dignete en vie ;  
 E reverence de seignurie,  
 Saciez le certainement  
 Ke c'est del regne eshaucement.

[p. 53<sup>12</sup>]

E saciez ke soveraine prudence  
 Est k'habite ta reverence  
 Es quors des sugez plus k'amur,  
 Kar escrit est e leu en autur [p. 53<sup>18</sup>]  
 Ke le rei en regne par sun afere 870  
 Est come la pluie ki chiet en terre,  
 Laquelle est la Deu grace en sun  
 Del ciel, e de terre beneicun,  
 Vie as vivanz sanz doutance,  
 Es si est a tuz aidance,  
 Kar par pluie vient esperauance  
 As marchanz e lur aidance.  
 En pluie sovent toneirs viennent,  
 E fudres sovent ausi encheient,  
 En riveres fet cretine sovent, 880  
 Les russeaus s'en enflet ensement,  
 E mut avienent, les mers fremissent,  
 Par qui mut vivanz perissent.

[p. 53<sup>25</sup>]

<sup>2</sup> Nepurquant teus maus k'avient  
 Ne desturbent pas home ne detiennent  
 K'il ne louent le gloriis De  
 Del ciel en sa majesté,  
 Ki les signes de grace recorde  
 E ses duns de misericorde.  
 Kar par la pluie est vivifé 890  
 Quanke nest en terre engendré,

Les arbres burjunent par tant,  
 En verdurs sa beneicon espaunt ;  
 E pur ceo loent Deu la gent  
 E mettent en obli veirement  
 Les mals ke suffrident avant  
 Pur le bien ke en vient tres grant.

Le rei ausi ressemble vent [p. 53<sup>31</sup>]

Ke Deu nus enveit e estent  
 Del tresor de sa grant merci ; 900  
 Les nues nus enveit par li,  
 Les blez en cressent e arbres ausi,

Les fruz en sunt enmeuri,  
 L'espirit sa force reprent,  
 E ewe desiree en rent ;  
 As nagianz fet grant bien le vent,  
 Kar aperte vie en mer lur rent,  
 E mut des biens en viennent ausi  
 Ke tut ne puet estre retreit ici.

<sup>3</sup> E ausi en viennent sanz dutance 910

Mut de mals e grant disturbance ;  
 Divers peril en vient sovent  
 En terre e en mer ensement,  
 Dulurs ameint dedenz e dehors,  
 D'omme en tempeste perit le cors ;  
 Corruptiun en l'eir est engendré,  
 E norit venim en verite  
 E autre mals k'en viennent asez  
 Ke pas ne poent ore estre cuntez.

E meske home le creatur 920  
 Deprie, Deu nostre Seignur,  
 De oster le mal ke de vent vient,  
 Ja de plus tart ne le sustient  
 E sun curs e ordre ausi,  
 Sulum ceo k'avant out establi,  
 Kar sa sapience vereiement  
 En ordre e en peis ensement  
 Tutes choses ad destine  
 E establi, en verite,  
 K'a ses serf servent leaument ; 930  
 E ceo li vient veraiement  
 De sa tres noble e grant merci  
 E de la tresgrant bunte de li.

Meimes l'ensample en verite [p. 54<sup>17</sup>]  
 Troverez de yver e d'esté :

<sup>4</sup> L'un est chaud e l'autre freit,  
 Les queus la sapience Deu tut dreit

Line 848 *Win the hearts of your people.* 851 *Give them no opportunity of speaking ill of you.* 866 *Of the fear of the king.* 869 *The king is likened to rain,* 872 *which is a blessing* 879 *and a curse.* 884 *Yet people praise God for it.* 898 *The king is likened to wind,* 901 *which brings good 910 and evil.* 920 *Men pray for the evil to be removed.* 923 *But the course of the universe is ordained and unchanged.* 934 *The king is likened to summer and winter.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 181 v<sup>o</sup> b.<sup>2</sup> f. 182 r<sup>o</sup> a.<sup>3</sup> f. 182 r<sup>o</sup> b.<sup>4</sup> f. 182 v<sup>o</sup> a.

Par sa tres grant purveance  
Establi tuz jurs sanz faillance  
Pour natureu choses engendrer, 940  
Nurir, mener pur durer ;  
E mut des mals en vienent nepurkant  
E morteus perils par itant,  
U en yvern par la freidur  
U en esté par la chalur.

[p. 54<sup>22</sup>]

Ausi avient il, c'est la parclose,  
En rei, mut profitable chose  
E biens, k'a ses sugez desplet,  
K'en rei regarder a tuz bon est.

[p. 54<sup>28</sup>]

O Alisandre, encerchez 950  
La poverté e les necessitez  
Des povres e cheitive gent,  
Des fiebles e meseisez ensement ;  
De lur defaute suviene vus,  
De ta bunte tut a estrus  
Un pruduunme e bien sachant  
Ke seit de lur lange entendant  
Establiez, e k'eime dreiture  
Ke de teu chose enpreigne cure,  
Ke Deu vostre vie sustiegne 960  
E en bien e honur vus meintiegne,  
<sup>1</sup> Ke eus pussez merciablement  
Amer e governier ensement ;  
Kar en ces est, saciez sanz dotance,  
De la lei tute observance,  
E leesce a la gent e surur,  
E bone vulance del creatur.

[p. 55<sup>7</sup>]

O Alisandre, pernez en cure  
K'asez eiez de warnesture  
De ble e d'autre chose profitable 970  
Ke bone seit e a gent mangable,  
Ke suffire pussent en vostre terre  
En tens de feim, kant aurez a fere  
Si come avient en chieres anees  
Kant defaute est par les cuntries,  
Ke pussez par tun purveer  
Ta gent aider kant unt mester.  
En tens de bosognie de veir saciez  
Ke sucure covent a tes citez ;  
Vos celiers dunkes overer devez 980  
E par tun regne e les citez  
Fere crier e puplier  
Furment e greins pur restorrer.  
Ceo ert grant cointise veirement

E purveance al regne ensement,  
E si serra sauvetez  
E garde au people e citez.

[p. 55<sup>15</sup>]

<sup>2</sup> Vostre <sup>3</sup> comandement dunc passera  
E vostre fet si aforcera  
E pleinement de ta purveance 990  
Dunt tuz en aurunt afiance,  
Kar t(r)estuz dunkes saverunt  
Ke voz oilz de loinz verrunt,  
E pur ceo vostre beneurté  
Preiserunt tuz en verité,  
E eschiwerunt par defense  
A vostre majesté fere offense.

[p. 55<sup>23</sup>]

O Alisandre, sovent vus monestai,  
E uncore amonest cum jeo sai,  
Ke vus gardez en ta peitrine 1000  
Misericorde e doctrine,  
La quele si vus bien gardez  
A vostre purpos tut avendrez  
E vostre regne, saciez, sanz faille  
Par ceo remeindra sanz bataille,  
Ceo est a dire sanz esclandre.  
Espaniez sanc d'umme espandre,  
Kar ceo a sul Deu apent  
Ke conuit les secrez e quers de gent.

[p. 55<sup>28</sup>]

Pur ceo pas n'entremettez 1010  
De chescun office ke vus avez,  
Kar ne vus est pas iceo donez  
Ke saciez de Deu les secrez ;  
<sup>4</sup> Pur ceo tant come vus purrez  
Espandre sanc d'umme eschivez.  
Kar Hermogenes, le noble doctur,  
Escrut e dit tut errur  
Ke quant creature a sei semblable  
Creature occist, saciez sans fable  
Ke les vertuz del ciel a Deu crient : 1020  
'Sire Deu, Sire Deu, en criant dient,  
Vostre serf a vus k'estes mestre,  
Endreit sei, semblable veut estre.'

Cil k'a tort un occis,a [p. 56<sup>2</sup>]  
Saciez k'en respundra,  
Dunt Deu, le haut creatur,  
Ke humeinc nature est surur,  
Dit ke 'Cil ke tuera  
Jeo premet ke tué serra ;

Line 946 *Many a benefit comes from a king which is displeasing to his subjects.*  
 950 *Of appointing a guardian of the poor.* 968 *Of stores in case of public need.*  
 978 *Give help in time of famine.* 988 *The people will then honour your foresight.*  
 988 *Be merciful,* 1007 *and beware of the shedding of blood.*  
 1016 *Hermogenes says that the angels cry to God for vengeance on a murderer.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 182 v<sup>o</sup> b.<sup>2</sup> f. 183 r<sup>o</sup> a.<sup>3</sup> l. 988, sign omitted as in l. 115, &c.<sup>4</sup> f. 183 r<sup>o</sup> b.

A mei seit vengeance lessce      1030  
 E par mei ert vengeance donec.<sup>1</sup>      [p. 56<sup>5</sup>]

Les vertuz du ciel presenterunt  
 En lur loanges k'a Deu ferunt  
 La mort celui ke ert tué  
 Jeske venjance en seit doné,  
 E celui ke tué l'avera  
 En peines d'enfern tuz jurs serra.

O Alisandre, bien sai k'avez [p. 56<sup>12</sup>]  
 De peines conoissance asez,  
<sup>1</sup> Kar mut des mals suffert avez ; 1040  
 En remembrance le remenez,  
 E les estoires d'antiquitez  
 Des peres et de parenz encerchiez,  
 Si em purrez par cele afere  
 Mut esamples et fez en trere,  
 Ke par les choses ke passé sunt  
 De mutes choses k'a venir sunt  
 Avium certain enseignement,  
 Saciez le veraient.

Petit home n'eiez en despit,      1050  
 Kar celi k'ore est vil e petit,  
 Si come avenu est sovent,  
 A richesses e a honurs ascent  
 E dunc ert fort e de plus poer  
 A nuire les autres e grever.

Sur<sup>2</sup> tute rien eschivez      [p. 56<sup>20</sup>]  
 Ke vostre fei donee n'enfreignez,  
 E covenant k'avez confermez  
 Gardez ke pas ne fausez,  
 Kar ceo avient as joefnes desleaus 1060  
 E a puteins pur lur aveaus.

Vostre fei premise ensement [p. 56<sup>22</sup>]  
 Veez ke gardez leaument,  
 Kar chescune desleauté, seez certain,  
 Porte male fin au derein.  
<sup>3</sup>E sid'enfreindre covenant bien aviegne  
 L'espece est mauveise ki ke la tienge,  
 Kar ensample k'est reprové  
 Est del gendre de maveisté.  
 Kar saciez bien veraientement [p. 57<sup>1</sup>]  
 Ke par fei sunt auniz gent,      1071  
 E par fei sunt, en veritez,

Les citez enhabitez  
 Des homes de bone compaignie,  
 E des reis tute la seignuric,  
 Les chasteus sunt tenu par fei,  
 Les citez gardées, regne le rei ;  
 Dunt si la fei ostez la gent mestriunt  
 E a lur estat premer returnerunt,  
 C'est a saver a la semblance      1080  
 De bestes, saciez sanz dutance.

[p. 57<sup>7</sup>]

Pur ceo, tres leau rei, vus gardez  
 Ke vostre fei pas n'enfreignez,  
 E gardez ausi fermement  
 Sur tute rien vostre serment,  
 E si tenez voz covenanç  
 Tut seient il a vus grevanz.  
 Kar bien savez ke Hermogenes  
 Le tesmoine tut e a pres  
 Ke vus e chescun en vie      1090  
 Ad douz espiriz, n'est pas folie,  
<sup>4</sup> L'un vus est a la destre partie,  
 L'autre a senestre ke vus espic,  
 K'en garde ambedous vus unt  
 E sevnt vos evres, les quels musterunt  
 Al creatur, quanke fet averez  
 Ou quank'en purpos de fere avez ;  
 Dunt mesk' autre chose ne fust,  
 Sul ceste chose retrir dust  
 Vus e autres ensement      1100  
 De vileins ovres veraientem.

Ki vus aforce tant sovent      [p. 57<sup>15</sup>]  
 Jurer e fere serment,  
 N'est pas a fere si ceo ne seit  
 Par grant necessité tut dreit ;  
 Ne rei ne deit, si il ni seit sovent  
 Requis, fere nul serment.  
 Ne savez bien ke ceo pas ne apent<sup>5</sup>  
 A digneté, mes descovient,  
 Quant vus jurez, kar veraientement      1110  
 As sagez e serfs jurer apent.

[p. 57<sup>19</sup>]  
 Si<sup>6</sup> vus demandissez l'encheisun  
 Ke fu de la destincteisun  
 De icel regne de Eubaiens  
 E del regne de Socroiens,      [p. 57<sup>21</sup>]  
 Jeo vus respunderai, e tut a estrus,  
 Ke ceo fu, saciez le vus,

Line 1038 *Remember your own experiences, 1041 and those of your ancestors.* 1050 *Despise not the small man.* 1056 *Of keeping faith.* 1062 *The breaking of faith leads to evil in the end.* 1070 *Faith is the foundation of all human communities.* 1088 *Hermogenes says that man has two attendant spirits, 1095 who tell the Creator of his deeds.* 1102 *Of swearing lightly.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 183 v<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>2</sup> l. 1056, sign omitted as in l. 115, &c.

<sup>3</sup> f. 183 v<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>4</sup> f. 184 r<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>5</sup> l. 1108, apent] airen MS.

<sup>6</sup> l. 1112, sign omitted as in l. 115, &c.

1 Pur ceo ke lur reis veraicement  
Acostumé furent jurer sovent  
Par boidie a deceivre la gent  
E les preceines citez ensemest ;  
Dunt il depecerent covenant  
Des choses establis devant  
Al profit e sauveté de gent  
Ke eus enfreindrent malement  
Par lur faus serment k'il uscien,  
Par unt lur preceins destrueien,  
E pur ceo l'équité del juge dreit  
Suffrir plus longement nel voleit.

1120

[p. 57<sup>27</sup>]

O Alisandre, fiz enseignez, 1130  
Jeo voil ke sachez e entendez  
Ke de empire l'urdeignement  
E de regne governement  
Sunt documenz mut especiaus  
Pleinz de granz biens e tres moraus,  
K'a vus apartient a saver  
Ta meisnee e le pueple governer ;  
Mes n'e pas liu de ceo treiter  
Ici, ne vus deit grever,  
Mes en cel livre la ou apent 1140  
Le saverez certeinement,  
E si vus serrunt en verité  
Documenz de grant sauveté  
2 Enbregées e tres profitable,  
Les quels si gardez, saciez sanz sable,  
Serrez aforcez e plus a eise,  
Si a Nostre Seignur bien pleise.

Gardez <sup>3</sup> ke pas ne repentez [p. 58<sup>4</sup>]  
Des choses ke sunt avant passez,  
Kar saciez tut de veritez 1150  
Ke de fieble femmes sunt propretiez.

E <sup>4</sup> par ta aperte vaillantie [p. 58<sup>5</sup>]  
Gardez tuz jurs ta curteisie,  
Tuz jurs tes buntés eshauccz ;  
Ceo est a tun regne sauvetez  
E destructiun veraicement  
A voz enimis ensemest.  
Universitez apparaillez  
E studie en citez establiez ;  
E en tun regne le suffrez 1160

Line 1118 *Bad kings swore in order to deceive their people,* 1122 *and then broke their covenants;* 1128 *hence their downfall.* 1130 *This is not the place to treat of the ordering of an empire;* 1140 *but that shall be dealt with later.* 1148 *Of regretting the past.* 1158 *Of the advancement of learning.*  
*Build universities.* 1168 *Encourage students.* 1177 *Reward scholarship.*  
1180 *Then will your name live,* 1184 *and your kingdom be renowned.*  
1188 *This is why Greece is still famous.* 1200 *Story of the learned maiden.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 184 r<sup>o</sup> b.      <sup>2</sup> f. 184 v<sup>o</sup> a.<sup>4</sup> l. 1152, as in l. 115.      <sup>5</sup> f. 184 v<sup>o</sup> b.as in l. 115.      <sup>8</sup> f. 185 r<sup>o</sup> a.

Nota de mulleribus.

| E a tes homes le comandez  
Ke lur fiz apreignent de letrure  
E ke d'estudie preignent cure  
En les arz e en morautez  
Si ke seient cleris esprovez.  
E a vostre purveance apent  
De trover lur susteinement.  
Fetes dunc aucun avantage  
A bien estudianz, c'est fet de sage,  
5 Ke par iceo ke a teus ferez 1170  
A tuz escolers ensample donez  
E matire pur bien estudier  
E bien veiller pur espleiter.  
Lur requestes volentiers oiez,  
Lur lettres volentiers recevez,  
Loez ces ke sunt a loer,  
Reguerdun ke sunt a reguerdoner ;  
De ceo entreerez les <sup>6</sup> lettrés,  
E vos loer, bien le sacies,  
E voz fez en escripture 1180  
Mettrunt, si ke lunge dure.  
Icesto maniere est a preiser  
E iceste cointise est a loer,  
De ceo ert l'empire honuré,  
Le regne enbeli e enluminé,  
La curt e les reaus fez  
En memoire plus noblement retrez.

[p. 58<sup>21</sup>]

Ki <sup>7</sup> fu ceo ke le regne eshauça  
De Grece, ke dure jeske en ça ?  
Ki fu ceo dunt par le mund lur fez 1190  
Pardurablement furent retrez ?  
Ceo fu, saciez, la diligence  
D'estudianz en lur science,  
E ceo fu la vaillantie  
Des sages estudianz en clergie,  
<sup>8</sup> Ki <sup>9</sup> sur tute rien science amerent  
E pur ceo teu choses troverent  
Dunt le regne fu eshaucé  
Ke tuz jurs en es ça ad duré.

[p. 58<sup>25</sup>]

Dunt <sup>10</sup> vus cunterai orendreit 1200  
D'unc pucele k'a la meisun esteit  
Un prudumme, ke par estudie  
Tant cunquist ke paï clergie  
Le curs del an tut conuisseit,

<sup>3</sup> l. 1148, sign omitted as in l. 115, &c.<sup>6</sup> l. 1178, les] MS. les les<sup>7</sup> l. 1188, at the top of this page is written in a cursive hand 'Nota de mulleribus.'<sup>10</sup> l. 1200, as in l. 115.

Les festes a venir ausi tut dreit,  
E les luis de planetes ensement,  
E l'encheisun d'embreggement  
Del jur e nuit, e del firmament  
Le curs e des esteilles ensement  
E de choses a venir par jugement 1210  
Ke, par art d'esteilles, saver apent.

O Alisandre, en nule guise [p. 59<sup>10</sup>]  
E(n) ovre de femmes n'en lur servise  
Ne vus afiez, e ausi gardez  
K'a eles ne seez abandonez;  
E si covient par necessité  
K'a femme seez abandoné,  
A une lele dunc, ke duné vus seit,  
Abandunez vus, kar ceo ert dreit. 1219  
Kar tant come femme te treite en bras  
Baillez li estes en ses laz;  
<sup>1</sup> Gardez vus bien e seez certeins,  
Kar vostre vie en est en ses mains.

[p. 59<sup>17</sup>]

Eschivez,<sup>2</sup> eschivez venim mortel;  
Kar gent ne comencent pas de novel  
Autres envenimer, mes pieça fu  
Ke muz par venim furent deceu  
Reis, de princes venim pieça  
Avant dreit tens lur mort hasta.

[p. 59<sup>21</sup>]

O Alisandre, ne vus afiez 1230  
En un sul mire ke vus tiegnez;  
Kar un mire, saciez sanz dutance,  
Ad bien poer de fere nusance,  
E une felunie emprendre purreit  
K'a vus, pust estre, n'estuveroit.  
Mes eiez dis, si ceo puet estre,  
Ke seint de lur afere mestre,  
E quant mester de eus averez  
Devant vus seint tuz asemblez,  
E si il covient ke medicine pernez 1240  
Par cunseil de plusurs le frez.

O Alisandre, le fet remenbrez [p. 60<sup>2</sup>]  
La reine de Inde, dunt bien savez  
Kant par amisté a vus manda  
Presens, e beaus duns envea,  
Entre quels choses fu enveé  
Cele bele pucele tant maluree,  
<sup>3</sup> Ke d'enfance veraient  
De venim nurri fu de serpent;  
Dunt, si a cele hure n'usse esté 1250  
Ke l'usse cointement esgardé,  
E par art nel usse coneu

E par esgarz aperceu,  
De ceo ke hardiement esgarda  
E sanz vergoine les oilz ficha  
En face d'umme cont(in)uelement  
En perçant e horiblement,  
Dunt jeo aperceu bien par tant  
K'ele tuereit home sul en mordant,  
(Ke puis apres par esperement 1260  
L'eprovastes tut certainement)  
Dunt ta mort, si jeo n'usse esté,  
En ardur de lecherie vus cust procuré.

O Alisandre, kar gardez [p. 60<sup>16</sup>]  
Vostre alme noble ke vus cez,  
K'est par le poesté divine  
De haute nature come angeline,  
E si vus est pur ceo bailee  
Ke pas ne seit deshonuree  
Mes glorifié, ne ne seit mie 1270  
De condiciun de gent suillie,  
Mes seit del nombre de la sage gent  
A quels glorie et joie apent.

<sup>4</sup> Rei Alisandre le benurez, [p. 60<sup>21</sup>]  
Si fere en nule maniere poez,  
Ne levez vus mie, ne ne seez,  
Ne ne mangez mie, ne ne bevez,  
Ne rien ne facez en ceste vie  
Sanz cunseil d'un sage astronomie.  
E seez de ceo tut certain 1280  
Ke Deu nule rien ne fist en vein  
En nature, mes tut par raisun  
E par reisunable encheisun;  
E par ceste vie e connoissance  
Conuit, saciez sanz dutance,  
Platun, nostre tresage mestre,  
E enquist en nature tut l'estre  
Des choses compunt des qualitez  
Ke sunt contraires en ceo trovez  
E des colurs, par compareison 1290  
A chose de composition,  
Par quei aveit science trovez  
De ydees e de chose furmee.

[p. 61<sup>8</sup>]  
As dis des nunsages ne creez mie  
Ke dient ke nul astronomie  
La science ne puet saver,  
E ke si forte est ke nul trover  
Ne puet de ceo entendement.  
Ne sevent ke dient veirement, 1299  
<sup>5</sup> Kar rien n'est fort quant a la puissance  
D'entendement, saciez sanz dutance,

Line 1212 *Of women.* 1224 *Of poison and of leeches.* 1242 *Story of the poison-maiden.* 1264 *Guard your divine soul.* 1274 *Of astronomy.*  
1294 *Do not believe those who say it is beyond human understanding.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 185 r<sup>o</sup> b.<sup>2</sup> l. 1224, as in l. 115.<sup>3</sup> f. 185 v<sup>o</sup> a.<sup>4</sup> f. 185 v<sup>o</sup> b.<sup>5</sup> f. 186 r<sup>o</sup> a.

Kar tutes choses k'a saver<sup>1</sup> sunt  
Par reisun estre sues purrunt.

Autres i ad mis en sotie [p. 61<sup>7</sup>]  
Ke ne dient pas meins de folie ;  
Ke Deu tutes choses purveu aveit  
Pardurablement, avant k'esteit  
Le mund, e avait avant ordiné,  
Ke quanke avient est nécessité  
E est ordiné issi del festre 1310  
Ke pur rien ne purreit autrement estre ;  
Pur ceo dient ke ne puet valeir  
Chose k'est a venir de saveir.  
Ices errerent malement  
E forveerent apertement,  
Kar, mesk' aucune chose aviegne  
Ke a venir issi le coviegne, [p. 61<sup>12</sup>]  
Mieuze sera suffert par itant  
Si l'en<sup>2</sup> seit la chose devant,  
E mieuz eschivre le peot en 1320  
E decliner par aucun sen ;  
Kar chose k'est coneu e parveue  
Serra plus sagement receue,  
E si aucune moleste i a  
Sanz trop damage passera.  
<sup>3</sup> Kar d'ivern ore pernez cure,  
Kant om seit k'avendra grant freidure  
La gent devant mieuz se purverrunt  
De dras, de busche, dunt mester unt,  
E pur ceo quant yvern vendra 1330  
Pas trop ne lur grevera.  
E pur la chaline ausi d'esté,  
Par freide viandes k'unt purchacé  
E par freit especes eschaperunt  
Les fervurs k'en esté serrunt.  
Ausi ki avant saverunt  
Les anz de feim ki avendrunt  
De blez e d'estor se purverrunt  
Ke nule moleste de ceo n'averunt.

[p. 61<sup>27</sup>]

Pur ceo est bien saver avant 1340  
Choses, ke gent par itant  
De lur mals garni en fussent  
Ke de plus leger eschaper pussent.  
E quant la gent conuisterunt  
Les choses k'a venir serrunt,  
Nostre Seignur prierunt par itant  
Ke par sa puissance seit en aidant  
Ke autre i mette ordeinement

Ke del mal a venir les defent.

[p. 61<sup>31</sup>]

Kar saciez ceo en bone fei 1350  
Ke Deu ne fist rien cuntre sei  
<sup>4</sup> Kant fet tels choses a gent musterer,  
Kar il le purrunt pur ceo preer,  
E en jeans e en devotion  
E en aumones e en oreisun  
De lur pecchiez aver pardun  
E de lur trespass remissiun ;  
Si musterunt bien par tant  
K'il duterunt Deu le tut puissant.

[p. 64<sup>5</sup>]

Mes saciez, sire, ke ne voil mie 1360  
Ore treiter de astronomie,  
Mes apres, quant a ceo vendrai,  
En cest livreçon treiterai ;  
Mes ore primes au comencement  
De mediciné averez le document  
E une manere de privetez  
Ke vus suffiserunt asez  
A vostre cors garder en santé,  
E si est, saciez de vérité,  
La meilleure e preciuse doctrine 1370  
Ke seit en tute mediciné,  
E d'autre part devez saver  
Ke mult vaut al mund governer.

Sire, ceo devez primes saver [p. 64<sup>10</sup>]

Ke n'est veie a fere ne a purchacer  
Rien en siecle ke seit en terre  
Si par poer nel pussez fere ;  
<sup>5</sup> E saciez ke nul n'ad poesté  
Si ceo ne seit par sa santé,  
E sancté n'avera ja nul hum 1380  
Sanz oclté de complexiun,  
Ne oclté n'est pas, sanz dutance,  
De complexiun sanz temperance.  
Mes Deus de gloire ordina la manere  
A temperance aver entiere,  
De humurs remedie e conservance  
A santé aver sanz grevance,  
E plusurs autres choses ensement  
Les quels as prophetes e a seinte gent  
E as autres ke esleu aveit 1390  
Priveément Deu demustreit,  
Les quels ellumina en science  
Par l'esprit de divine sapience.  
Surse de science lur duncit  
Des quels les philosophes unt estreit

Line 1304 *Of foreknowledge.* 1318 *A foreseen evil is better borne.* 1326  
For instance, one can prepare for great cold, 1332 or heat, 1336 or scarcity.  
1350 One can pray and fast also. 1360 But astronomy also will be treated of later. 1364 Now medicine shall be spoken of. 1374 Of the importance of health.  
1383 Temperance is essential. 1391 God showed his secrets to the old philosophers.

<sup>1</sup> l. 1302, saver] MS. savez.

<sup>2</sup> l. 1319, l'en] MS. les.

<sup>3</sup> f. 186 r<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>4</sup> f. 186 v<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>5</sup> f. 186 v<sup>o</sup> b.

Lur philosophie pleinement ;  
 Kar de eus aveint commencement  
 Les Latins e les Indiens,  
 Les Grius e les Parsiens,  
 De ces lur science espucherent, 1400  
 Lur princes de art par eus troverent  
 E secrez k'en lur escriz mistrent,  
 Dunt bien piert ke de eus le pristrent,  
<sup>1</sup> Kar en lur escriz rien n'est trové  
 Ke ne seit reisun esprové,  
 Dunt des sages sunt receu,  
 Escrit e oi e esleu.

[p. 64<sup>25</sup>]

Ki a sci meimes est encheisun  
 De mal e de perdition  
 Il serra plus legierement 1410  
 Encheisun de perte de autre gent.  
 [p. 64<sup>26</sup>]

Pur ceo elisum ceo ke nus amums  
 E queruns ceo ke nus entendumus ;  
 Mes ne purquant devez saver  
 Ke Deu le haut k'est rei sanz per  
 Entre tuz les philosophes k'el mund a  
 Les Grius sur tuz ellumina  
 A science enquere sanz dutance  
 E de nature aver conuissance.  
 De ceo vus ai jeo dit autre fez, 1420  
 Dunt sulum eus ore fra cest treitez.

Les sages s'accordent trestuz, [p. 65<sup>5</sup>]  
 Les natureus philosophes e pruz,  
 Ke home est fet de quatre element  
 Contraries e d'umurs ensement,  
 Ke tuz jurs de beivre e manger  
 A sustenance unt mester,  
 Sanz les quels home verraient  
 Corrumpt serreit utrement. 1429  
<sup>2</sup> E ki trop poy em prent e plus d'asez  
 Fieble(sce) engendre e enfermetez,  
 E mult d'autre mals ja viennent  
 K'entempreement pas ne se tienent ;  
 Mes ki manjue e beit od temperance  
 A sa vie trovera bone aidance,  
 Si en avera force de cors  
 E santé partut dedenz e dehors.

[p. 65<sup>12</sup>]  
 Issi s'accordent trestut li sage  
 E dient tut par un corage

Ki ke ceo seit k'issi le face 1440  
 Ke utre due mesure trespassse  
 En trop ou trop poi beyvre ou manger,  
 Trop ou tropoy dormir ou veiller,  
 Trop ou tropoi reposer ou mover,  
 En trop ou tropoy le ventre voider,  
 Ki si le fet ne puet eschaper  
 Les enuiz e les reveries  
 D'enfermetez e de maladies ;  
 Des quels brievement treiterai 1450  
 E certeine doctrine vus en dirrai  
 De diverses maladies issi  
 E de lur remedies autresi.

[p. 65<sup>21</sup>]  
 Les <sup>3</sup> sages trestuz si acordeint  
 Ki de trop ou tropoi se gardeint,  
<sup>4</sup> Uelté e temperance avereint,  
 E lunge vie e santé receveraient,

[p. 65<sup>26</sup>]  
 Ki desire dunc vivre e durer<sup>5</sup>  
 Estudie dunc de purchacer  
 Choses ke durablement covienten 1460  
 E ke la vie gardent e tiennent,  
 E lesser covient en verité  
 Le desir de ta propre volenté,  
 E garde qu'il n'ajuste mie  
 Mangerie sur mangerie.

Jeo oi dire de Yopras [p. 66<sup>4</sup>]  
 Ke dietes garda, n'es pas gas,  
 Par les quels mey whole fiebles devint  
 E les fieblesces de cors sustint ;<sup>6</sup>  
 Dunt un sun desclipe li diseit : 1470  
 ‘ Noble mestre, fet cil, s'il vus plerret  
 Ke bien buissiez e mangissiez  
 Tant fieblesce de cors n'averiez.’  
 Yopras dunkes li responceit  
 En teu manere, si li diseit :  
 ‘ Pur ceo manguz ke vivre pusse,  
 Ne vif pas pur ceo ke mangusse ;’  
 Kar norrisement est pur durance,  
 Ne mie la reverse <sup>7</sup> sanz dutance,  
 Kar durance n'est pas veraient 1480  
 Pur aver le nurissement.  
<sup>8</sup> Kar mut ai coneut tant come vesquirent  
 Ke de trop mangier se detenirent<sup>9</sup>  
 E lur apetiz despertonterent

Line 1408 *He who is the cause of evil to himself will be a source of danger to others.* 1415 *God illuminated the Greeks beyond all others.* 1422 *Of temperance.* 1438 *All the sages agree that the secret of health is temperance in eating and drinking, purging, and letting blood.* 1443 *sleeping,* 1444 *resting,* 1445 *Hippocrates said, ‘I eat to live, not live to eat.’* 1446 *Abstemious men are more vigorous and of longer life.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 187 r<sup>o</sup> a.      <sup>2</sup> f. 187 r<sup>o</sup> b.      <sup>3</sup> l. 1454, paragraph sign omitted.  
<sup>4</sup> f. 187 v<sup>o</sup> a.      <sup>5</sup> l. 1458, vivre e durer] MS. vivre duter.      <sup>6</sup> l. 1469, sustint] MS. sustient.      <sup>7</sup> l. 1479, reverse] MS. reverence.      <sup>8</sup> f. 187 v<sup>o</sup> b.  
<sup>9</sup> l. 1483, se detenirent] MS. le detenirent.

E glotonie pas ne hanterent  
 E par dietes vesquirent en temperance,  
 Ke crestiens furent sanz nusance  
 E mieu pocient overer  
 E en vie plus legierement durer  
 E de bon appetit ensement 1490  
 E plus legiers de muvement.  
 C'est en Arabiens aparant,  
 E par desert ke sunt alant,  
 E lunges chemins ensement ;  
 Par unt est apert argument  
 Ke abstinence de trop manger,  
 E de superfluité purger,  
 Est la medicinne soveraine  
 Pur aver dreite sancté plaine. 1499

[p. 66<sup>22</sup>]

O Alisandre, en medicinne verement  
 Est contenu certain document  
 Ke la conservance est de santé  
 Principaument en dous choses trové.  
 La permereine est k' omme use sanz  
 fable  
 Mangiers a sun age covenable,  
 E del tens ausi preigne cure,  
 E a la costume de sa nature ;  
 1 K'il use viandes, c'est a saver,  
 E beivres ke soleit hanter  
 Dunt aveit norrisement 1510  
 E de substance conferment.

La seconde est ke seit purgé [p. 66<sup>28</sup>]  
 De superfluité engendré  
 De males humurs e corumpues  
 E <ke> de surfet sunt avenues.  
 Humeine cors devez saver, [p. 66<sup>30</sup>]  
 K'est vessel de beivre e mangier,  
 Enmenusez est e remenez  
 En la matire, bien le saciez,  
 E princes dunt primes fu 1520  
 Come d'elementz engendré e conceu,  
 Par chaline ke l'umur ensecchist  
 La quale le cors pest e norrist ;  
 Mes resouz est e remenez  
 As princes dunt estoit nez  
 De vent e de solail par la chalur,  
 K'ensecchissent trestut l'umur.

[p. 67<sup>32</sup>]

Quant cors, dunc, est de teu nature  
 Ke mut d'umurs passent par ouverture,  
 Grosse viande vaut a teu cors 1530

Pus ke mult est k'en est mis hors  
 De quantité e de grosse substance,  
 De chalur pur trop habundance,  
 2 E de humurs ke del cors estreit sunt  
 Ke par ouvertures tut s'en vunt.

[p. 67<sup>12</sup>]

Mes quant le cors est sec e lié  
 Sutive viandes en vérité  
 E muistes li valent veraient,  
 Kar ceo k'en ist certainement  
 De poi de quantité serra 1540  
 Pur les ouvertures ke estrei a.

[p. 67<sup>15</sup>]

Pur ceo est certain document  
 A santé garder pleinement  
 Ke hume en sa santé use manger  
 K'a sa qualité pusse acorder.  
 C'est a saver, pernez ent cure,  
 A home k'est de chaude nature  
 Chaudes viandes valent veirement,  
 Mes ke chaud scienc entempreement ;  
 Mes a home k'est de freide nature 1550  
 Freides viandes valent en temprure ;  
 A home moist ou sec norissement  
 Entendez la manere ensement.

[p. 67<sup>20</sup>]

Mes si home chaud <est> utre mesure  
 Quant chaline grieve la nature  
 K'eit par chauz mangiers receu  
 Ou par autre chaline k'est avenu,  
 Dunc li poent mangiers valer  
 Contraires e freides a user. 1559  
 3 E quant l'estomac chaud e bon serra  
 E fort, a tiel mieuz, saciez, vaudra  
 Grosses viandes a mangier,  
 Kar tel estomac, devez saver,  
 Est come bon feu e pussant  
 Ke grosse busche gaste en ardant.

[p. 67<sup>28</sup>]

Mes quant l'estomac veirement  
 Est freit e fiebles ensement,  
 A tel estomac mieuz vaut mangiers  
 Ke util scienc e legiers,  
 Kar le feu ressemble, par reisun, 1570  
 Ke estuble art e sekellun.

[p. 67<sup>33</sup>]

Les signes de bon estomac, saciez,  
 Sunt d'aver de cors legiertez  
 E d'aver cler entendement  
 E appetit ausi de movement.

Line 1500 *Of the two safeguards to health.* 1504 *Suitable diet:* 1512  
*Purging of humours.* 1528 *Strong meats for hot bodies.* 1536 *Delicate*  
*meats for dry bodies.* 1542 *Use foods of a like nature to your own temper,*  
 1554 *unless you have an excess of heat or cold.* 1560 *A good digestion is like*  
*a hot fire,* 1566 *and a weak digestion is like a feeble fire.* 1572 *Of the signs*  
*of a good digestion.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 188 r<sup>o</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> f. 188 r<sup>o</sup> b.<sup>3</sup> f. 188 v<sup>o</sup> a.

Les signes de mal estomac en sun  
E de sieble digestiun  
Sunt pesantume de cors e molesce,  
Enflure de face e peresce,  
E baaler de buche sovent, 1580  
E pesantume des oilz ensement,  
Led e mauveis bretimer<sup>1</sup>  
Kant ceo bretime est amer  
Ou evus ou egre ou purlent<sup>2</sup>  
Ou ke savoure malement.

<sup>3</sup> E pur iceo sunt engendrez [p. 68<sup>6</sup>]  
Enfleure en ventre e ventositez,  
E si en ert amenusez  
Appetit de mangier, saciez.  
E si la chose est en quantite grant 1590  
Saciez ke de eeo demeintenant  
Les piez e mains se estendent,  
Les membres resortissant rendent,  
E le cors en rent tut tremblant  
E suuent la buche en baalant,  
E autre mals k'en viennent asez  
K'a santé sunt contrarieetz  
E sunt al cors destructiun  
E a la nature corruptiun;  
Pur ceo vus devez veirement 1600  
De teus mals garder cointement.

[p. 68<sup>17</sup>]

Pus ke dunkes cors corruptible est,  
(E la corruption, saciez se nest  
De contrariete de complexiun  
E d'umurs contraries ausi, en sun,  
K'en cors sunt) vos escriz ore sanz fable  
Choses k'a ceo sunt profitable  
E necessaries, e les secrez  
Ke sunt en art de medicine trovez,  
Dunt tut seurement en pussez 1610  
Sanz deserfe bien estre paez.  
<sup>4</sup> E pur ceo ke hunte sercet a mire  
Tutes maladies apertement dire,  
Si vus ceste chose bien regardez,  
E sulum l'ordre precius vus gardez,  
Tut pleinement devez saver  
Ke de mire n'aveiez ja mester,  
Estre ceo k'avienent par cas  
Ke l'em ne puet bien eschivre pas.

[p. 68<sup>28</sup>]

O Alisandre, ceo covient ke saciez 1620

Ke quant de dormir vus levez  
K'ailez un petit entempreement  
A estendre voz menbres oelment,  
E si devez vostre chief pinnier ;  
Kar<sup>5</sup> les membres aforce l'adrescer,  
E le pierner les humurs, bien le sachiez,  
Estreit hors ke sunt muntez  
E la teste del estomac dreit  
Quant tens de dormir esteit.

[p. 69<sup>2</sup>]

En esté vus fetes laver 1630  
D'ene freide, devez saver,  
Kar ceo destreint e la chaline  
Remue del chief par teu covine,  
E si durra veirement  
Talent de mangier ensement.

Puis apres bien vus vestez [p. 69<sup>6</sup>]  
De noble vesture e aurnez ;  
<sup>6</sup> Kar vostre corage en verité  
Se delitera en beauté,  
E la vertu de vie par delit 1640  
Serra recumforté sanz respit,  
E le quor overt rendra  
Dunt leez e heité tut serra.

Pus apres si froterez [p. 69<sup>10</sup>]  
Vos denz e gengives asez  
Od les escorces tut entur  
D'arbre chaud, sec, amer de savur,  
Kar iceo lez denz ennettis  
E vice de buche tut ennientis,  
La lange bien parlante rent 1650  
E la parole clere ensement ;  
<sup>7</sup> Ensurketut devez saver  
Ke dune talent de manger.

Puis apres devez user [p. 69<sup>15</sup>]  
Sulum le tens vus estover,  
Kar profite a grant mesure ;  
Del cervel oeuvre la elosture,  
Les cols plus gros par ceo rent,  
E les bras plus gras ensement,  
La face e la veue esclaristi, 1660  
Le sen ausi en aforsist,  
E entardir fet ensement  
Chanuesce, saciez veirement.

Line 1576 *Of weak digestion.* 1602 *Of the means of keeping well without aid of a doctor.* 1620 *Of rising from sleep.* 1622 *Take gentle exercise.*  
1624 *Comb your hair.* 1630 *Bathe in cold water.* 1636 *Dress yourself in beautiful rayment.* 1644 *Brush your teeth.* 1654 *Take a hot bath.*

<sup>1</sup> l. 1582, bretimer] MS. bretuner, with an *i* mark over the first stroke of the *u*. <sup>2</sup> l. 1584, purlent] MS. has an *i* mark over the first stroke of the *u*, and the word might better be read 'pирдент' or 'pirclent'. <sup>3</sup> f. 188 v<sup>o</sup> b.  
<sup>4</sup> f. 189 r<sup>o</sup> a. <sup>5</sup> l. 1625, Kar] MS. Kai. <sup>6</sup> f. 189 r<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>1</sup> Pus les meilleurs ke trovez [p. 69 <sup>22</sup> ]	Fetes mut des viandes porter	
Uignementz de bon odur hantez	E mangiez ent a tun plaisir	1710
K'acordent al tens nomeement	E ceo dunt averez desir,	
Sulum ceo k'a la seisin apent,	Od pein ke oelement seit levé	
Kar l'alme ne serret pas refet	Ke seit parfitement fermenté.	
For del odur k'en est estreit,	E mangiez dunc premierement	
Kar bon odur veralement	Ceo ke primes manger apent,	
Est al alme norissement;	<sup>2</sup> C'est a saver, si humme prent	
E quant l'alme serra refet	Legiere viande premierement	
E afermee e mis en het	E mole, ke l'estomac mol rent,	
Le cors tut en reforçera	E la plus dure mangue derenement,	
E le queor s'en joissera	Kant la mole vient devant	1720
E le sanc es veines cura	Plus tost en ert defit par tant,	
Pur la leesce ke l'alme a.	Mes la dure viande, ki pus receu a,	
	Plus lung en l'estomac demurra;	
Si prendrez letuaires apres [p. 69 <sup>23</sup> ]	Mes si la dure devant mangue	
K'est nomé 'lignis aloes'	E la mole e legiere est pus receue	
K'est en livres de meseines escrit 1680	Del un e del autre par raisun	
Coment e de ki est cumfit.	Ert bone la digestiun.	
	Ausi saciez si home prent	
<sup>3</sup> E reaubarbre pernez ensement.	Plusurs viandes ensemblement	
Le peis de quatre deniers d'argent,	Ke moles e legiers sunt	1730
Kar c'est une chose mult profitable,	E de legier defiunt,	
Kar fleume sustriet, saciez sanz fable,	Dunc covient k'avant manger viegne	
De buche del estomac tut hors,	Al funt del estomac ke bien retiegnie,	
Si engendre chaline el cors	Kar del estomac la paifundesce	
E enchace ventosité	Plus chaud est <sup>4</sup> e plus ad molesce,	
E bone savur rent en verité.	De ceo k'en cele partie junt	
	Charnuse parties ke i sunt,	
<sup>2</sup> Pus od les nobles vus seez [p. 70 <sup>6</sup> ]	E si est a la fie de pres veisine <sup>5</sup>	
E oveskes les sages parlez	Ke viande defit par sa chaline.	
Sulum costume des reis e noble gent		[p. 72 <sup>6</sup> ]
E parlez e fetes ceo ki apent.	E bien saciez k'a tun manger	1740
Pus apres, kant hure serra [p. 71 <sup>4</sup> ]	De manger devez desporter	
De manger quant il vus plerra,	<sup>6</sup> Endementiers uncore ke volentez	
Travaillez vus un poi avant	E desir de mangier avez,	
En chevachant ou en alant	Kar par sa superfluite	
Ou aucun autre chose fesant,	L'estomac est mut anguissé,	
Kar ceo est mut al cors aidant,	E si en ert le cors grevé	
Kar ceo enchace ventositez,	E le corage mut blescé,	
Le cors adrescé e aforcez	E la viande remeint pesant	
En est e aleggé ensement,	Al fund del estomac e nusant.	
E al estomac chaline rent,		[p. 72 <sup>11</sup> ]
E les junctures lie, e ennientit	Ensemblement vus retenez	1750
Les humurs nusantes e tut defit,	Ke ewe apres manger ne bevez,	
E fleume sur l'estomac fet ausi	Jeske aviegne ke vus seez	
Descendre k'est trop chaud e ensechi.	De ceo fere acostumiez,	
Quant asis estes au manger [p. 71 <sup>13</sup> ]	Kar beivre freit eue, ki ke ceo seit,	
	Sur manger rent l'estomac freit	
	E la chaline esteint ensement	

Line 1664 *Anoint yourself with sweet-smelling ointments.* 1678 *Then take an electuary of aloes* 1682 *and rhubarb.* 1694 *Of eating.* 1696 *Take exercise before eating.* 1708 *Eat bread with meat.* 1714 *Eat first the solider foods,* 1725 *and then the lighter.* 1740 *Rise from the table with an appetite.* 1750 *Do not drink water after eating,*

<sup>1</sup> f. 189 v<sup>o</sup> a.      <sup>2</sup> f. 189 v<sup>o</sup> b.      <sup>3</sup> f. 190 r<sup>o</sup> a.      <sup>4</sup> l. 1735, MS. *Ke pus* chaud est.      <sup>5</sup> l. 1738, *veisine*] MS. *neisinc.*      <sup>6</sup> f. 190 r<sup>o</sup> b.

E la viande confuse rent  
E engendre desturbement  
Si mut en est beau veirement,  
Kar saciez, ki ke mut en beit, 1760  
Rien n'est k'al cors pêur seit.

Mes si par bosoin seit beue [p. 72<sup>16</sup>]  
Par chaline del estomac eue,  
Ou si chaline pur ceo avez  
Pur chaude viandes k'avez mangez,  
Seit dunc ceo k'enbevez ent  
Ne mie trop mes entempreement.

<sup>1</sup> E apres, quant refet serrez, [p. 73<sup>3</sup>]  
Aucune chose pus alez,  
E pus en mol lit vus cochez 1770  
E entempreement dormez ;  
E un hure, si ceo puet estre,  
Reposerez sur la coste destre,  
E pus au senestre returnez  
E sur le senestre donke dormez,  
Kar le senestre costé est freit  
Dunt chaline l'abusognereit.

[p. 73<sup>9</sup>]

Si aucune grevance dunc sentez  
Ou k'en l'estomac ou ventre avez,  
Fetes une chemise eschauffer 1780  
E ferm sur vostre ventre poser.

[p. 73<sup>15</sup>]

E si vus avez eructaciun <sup>2</sup>  
Egre, ceo est par l'encheisun  
E signe ke l'estomac avez  
Freit, saciez de veritez.  
La mescine de ceo ke devez receivre  
Est ke devez chaude eue beivre  
Od cirup acetus, e geter ;  
Ceo vus deit mut al cors valer,  
Kar la livre e corruptiun 1790  
De mangier el ventre destructiun  
Est al cors tut pleinement,  
Si par remedie n'eit desturbement.

[p. 73<sup>21</sup>]

<sup>3</sup> Devant mangier le muevement  
Chaline al estomac rent,  
Mes apres manger saciez tant

Ke c'est al estomac nusant,  
Kar dunc desquit le manger descent  
Al funt del estomac veirement ;  
E de ceo viennent estupemenz 1800  
E autre maus engendré dedenz.  
Dormir devant manger suvent [p. 74<sup>1</sup>]  
Saciez ke le cors megre rent

E atreit l'umidité,  
Dunt est ensechi en vérité ;  
Mes apres manger dormir nurit,  
Refet e emple e aforcit.  
Kar tant come home dort en recelee  
La chaline naturele desparpilee  
Par tut le cors est espandue, 1810  
En l'estomac dunt est descendue,  
Dunt l'estomac est conforté  
Par la chaline e aforcé,  
Dunt le manger receu bien en est quit,  
E par la decoction ert bien desfit ;  
E aidunc la vertu reisunable  
Querti sun repos, n'est mie fable.  
Dunt aucun des philosophes diseit  
Ke mangier al vespre plus vaudrait

<sup>4</sup> K'a midi mangier, ou la entur ; 1820

Kar midi la chaline a del jur,  
E de jur ovrent lessens  
E l'alme travaille dedenz,  
Kar hume dunkes e veit e ot  
E pense e de reisun parot <sup>5</sup>  
E plusurs choses fet ke avienent dehors,  
Dunt mut en est travailé le cors,  
Par unt en hure de midi s'estent  
La chaline naturele utrement  
E ist par les parties dehors 1830  
Par tutes les ouvertures del cors,  
E pur ceo est mut enfiebli  
L'estomac, saciez le de fi,  
E si est dunkes de nunpoeir  
La viande defire, <sup>6</sup> saciez de voir.

[p. 74<sup>17</sup>]

Mes <sup>7</sup> quant l'en mangue veralement  
Au vespre, est tut autrement,  
Kar dunc ert sanz travail le cors  
E les sens se reposent dehors  
E la freidure de nuit dunc vient 1840

Line 1762 unless it be necessary from excess of heat, and then drink only in great moderation. 1768 Of sleeping. 1769 Take a little gentle exercise, 1770 then sleep in a soft bed. 1772 Lie an hour on the right side, 1774 then turn to the left side. 1778 If you feel pain, apply heat to the stomach, 1786 or drink vinegar and hot water. 1794 Much exercise before eating is good, 1796 but after eating is harmful. 1802 Sleeping before a meal makes a man thin, 1806 but after a meal it is health-giving. 1818 Of the times for eating. 1821 The body has too much other work to do at midday. 1836 It is therefore better to eat in the evening.

<sup>1</sup> f. 190 v<sup>o</sup> a. <sup>2</sup> l. 1782, MS. adds i. (*id est*) bretuns. <sup>3</sup> f. 190 v<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>4</sup> f. 191 r<sup>o</sup> a. <sup>5</sup> l. 1825, parot] MS. parout. <sup>6</sup> l. 1835, desire] MS. desire.

<sup>7</sup> l. 1836, paragrap -sign omitted.

E les ouvertures del cors emprient  
E en l'estomac la chaline quit,  
Dunc la viande en est enduit.

[p. 75<sup>4</sup>]

Ensirketut saver devez  
Ki ke mangier acostumez  
<sup>1</sup>E(st) dous fiez le jur, sanz dutance  
Si se retient en aura nusance;  
Ausi ki ke est acostumier  
Une fiez le jur sulement mangier  
E pus s'il mangue dous fiez      1850  
Ceo li nurra, bien le saciez,  
Kar<sup>2</sup> sun estomac pur le trespass  
La viande defire ne puet pas.  
Ausi avient del hore changer  
Quant soleit a costume manger,  
Kar tost apres bien le savera  
K'a sa nature grevera,  
Kar de ceo deit en prendre cure  
Ke costume est l'autre nature.

[p. 75<sup>14</sup>]

Mes s'il avient par necessité      1860  
Ke la costume seit changié,  
I covient ke fet seit sagement  
Ke ceo ne seit pas subitemt,  
Mes petit e petit covient changer,  
Une feiz apres autre manger  
Petit e petit come afiert,  
E par l'aide Deu issi bien ert.

[Secretum Secretorum ends here]

[p. 75<sup>18</sup>]

La santé bien garder pleinement  
Est en quité e movement,  
E en beire e en mangier, saciez,      1870  
E en voider superfluetz.  
<sup>3</sup> E si est ausi, sanz dutanee,  
En mesure e en observance.  
Le liu e meisun ou meindre deit  
Net e tempré par tut seit,  
A mans ke pust a venir rester.  
Avant ke l'en receive a manger  
Les pensees de beste oster,  
E les costumes bien garder.  
Ki ke veut sa santé garder      1880  
Devant mangier estuit travailler.

En chescun travail k'ome seut hanter  
Utre poer ne deit travailler.  
Seit ore ke seez acostumer

Chescun jur aucune part aler;  
Si garde ke ne travaille tant  
Ke se sente grevé part tant.  
Mes quant il se sent rien alasser  
Si deit demeintenant reposer  
Avant qu'il se sente grevé      1890  
Par l'aler, ou trop alassé.

Travail devant manger soleit  
Naturele chaline acrestre dreit  
A celui ke travaille, bien se sent  
Ki chaline amunte veraient,  
E le cors de ceo force e grossur  
Purchace e prent a chief de tur.

<sup>4</sup> Mes sur tute rien fet a garder  
Ki grevus travail veut hanter  
Ordre covient en ceo garder;      1900  
Ne deit pas subitemt muver  
Del repos ke ad eu devant  
A pesant travail e grevant.  
E si le travail grie e grant seit  
Sun ventre d'un cengle constreindre  
deit;  
E apres mangier se chastie  
Ke forement ne se mueve mie,  
E del tut a eschivre est ensement  
Muver sei dunkes lungement,  
Karsicome mover<sup>5</sup> devant manger      1910  
Fet bien a santé garder,  
Ausi le meovement apres  
Engendre de maladie fes.

Apres manger covient veirement  
K'ome se desporte tant lungement  
De dormir jeske descendu seit  
De la buche del estomac dreit  
Le manger, e amenusé l'enflure  
E la grevance, ke ne pusse nure  
Issi k'uncore seit sentu      1920  
Ke le manger est descendu;  
E saciez bien si vus targiez,  
E un petitet apres alez.  
<sup>6</sup> A descendre la viande mut aidera,  
E profit apres e(n) avendra.

D'autre part bien vus gardez  
Ke trop souvent ne vus voutrez  
Del un jeske autre costez,

Line 1844 *It is bad to change the hour or number of your meals.*      1860 *But if it is necessary, let the change be gradual.*      1874 *Let your dwelling be clean and airy.*      1870 *Of exercise.*      1883 *Do not let your exercise be too violent.*      1892 *It is good before food.*      1906 *It is bad after food.*      1914 *Of sleeping again.*      1915 *Do not sleep directly after a meal.*      1926 *Do not toss and turn in bed.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 191 r<sup>o</sup> b.      <sup>2</sup> l. 1852, Karl MS. Par.<sup>5</sup> l. 1910, mover] MS. ouuer.<sup>3</sup> f. 191 v<sup>o</sup> a.<sup>6</sup> f. 192 r<sup>o</sup> a.      <sup>4</sup> f. 191 v<sup>o</sup> b.

Kar la digestiun purluinez,  
E emfleure ensiut veirement  
E runge, saciez, ensement.

1930

E saciez bien ke mut vaut  
Aver un oriller bien haut,  
E nomeement si le manger ne seit  
Descendu en l'estomac dreit.

Saciez ke de dormir est le profit  
Ke trava il de l'alme tout sanz respit,  
E plus s'utive veralement  
De pensers e reisun la rent. 1939  
Ke einz fu boisteuse e come chargee  
En aquizié est e sutillee,  
Ke travail del cors ensuagist,  
E la digestiun mieuz nurist,  
E le cors ausi veralement  
Engressist, e plus legier rent.

Mes mut dormir, seez certain,  
Ke le cors dewaste e rent vein  
E le fet a desmesure tendre  
E trop de fleume en li engendre,  
¹ E si² refreidist nomeement 1950  
Le cors gros e gras ensement.

Mes mut veiller enseur seez  
Ke la chaline enoto en veritez,  
E led l'omme e megre rent,  
E ensecchit le cors ensement,  
E colre russe engendre ausi,  
E nomeement le cors enmegri.

Adecertes si covient dreit  
Ke l'alme de veiller aforcée ne seit  
Quant se sent come deswarokee 1960  
E en pensantume trovee,  
Ne a dormir ne deit estre aforcée³  
Quant sitille e ague est truvec,  
Quant legier est le movement  
E les sens forz ensement.

Quant la pesantume est passez  
Desuz del manger avant mangez,  
E del ventre la souveraine partie  
Est sanz reddur tut esmolie,  
E aucun travail seit fet avant, 1970

Dunc fet a manger demeintenant,  
E tant mieuz, sacez veirement,  
Si od tut vus vient a talent.

Estre ceo, pas ne lessez,  
Quant talent vus prent, ke ne mangez,  
⁴ Si le talent deceivant ne seit  
Come en gent yvres estre soleit;  
Mes pus k'omme yvre pas ne seit  
Ne gros n'est le manger k'avantmangeit  
E talent li prent, tut sans demore 1980  
Manger deit tantost maimes l'ore.  
E si le manger seit tant delaé  
Ke le talent de manger seit passé,  
Cyrub acetus dunke receive  
E od eue chaude le beive,  
E pus apres si se detiegne  
De manger jeske appetit li viegne  
Ou jeske assellatiun fet eit  
Par unt le talent engendré seit,  
E quant ices choses fet avez 1990  
Dunc est hure ke vus mangez.

E mut est a eschivre, ceo sachez,  
Ke vus ja itant ne mangez  
Ke l'estomac tant empli seit  
Ke seit grevé ou trop estreit,  
Kar saciez, quant issi avient,  
Del eir k'atreit anguisse vient.  
Dunt si a la fez si avenu seit  
Avant ke le manger descendu seit.  
Si deit par vomite geter 2000  
Ke de ceo se pusse deliverer ;  
⁵ E s'il ne puet mie a dreit vomir  
Travaille un poi e voit dormir,  
E chose ke le ventre soluble rent  
Dunc est a prendre veralement,  
E del manger ke manger soleit  
Le jur apres meins prendre deit.

E si est a saver sur tute rien  
Ke chescun garde en pregnie bien  
Ke les mangers ke manger soleit 2010  
Chescun mangusse en sun dreit,  
E si mangusse aussi suvent  
Come soleit fere ensement,  
Si la costume male ne seit⁶  
K'eschivre fet en chescun endreit,

<sup>1</sup> Line 1932 *Have a high pillow.*      <sup>1936</sup> *Sleep drives away care and sharpens the wits.*      <sup>1946</sup> *Too much sleep enfeebles the body.*      <sup>1952</sup> *Too little sleep makes it thin.*      <sup>1958</sup> *Do not force yourself either to wake or sleep, against nature.*      <sup>1966</sup> *Of eating again.*      <sup>1974</sup> *Eat when you feel a desire to do so.*      <sup>1982</sup> *If eating be delayed till the appetite is gone, drink hot water and vinegar.*      <sup>1992</sup> *Never eat too much.*      <sup>2008</sup> *Follow your custom in the nature of your diet,*      <sup>2014</sup> *unless the custom be a harmful one.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 192 r<sup>o</sup> b.      <sup>2</sup> l. 1950, si] MS. li.      <sup>3</sup> l. 1962, aforcée] MS. aforce.  
<sup>4</sup> f. 192 v<sup>o</sup> a.      <sup>5</sup> f. 192 v<sup>o</sup> b.      <sup>6</sup> l. 2014, seit] MS. soit.

La quele petit e petit lesser deit  
Jeske a la bone viegne tut dreit.

E saciez ke l'ordre de manger  
Fet a sein home a garder. 2019  
Au mein ke mangusse une feiz le jur,  
Ne serra grevance ne trop labur;  
Vaut plus dous fiez, entempreement;  
En dous jurz treiz fiez solement.

A home megre le jur, sanz dutance,  
Sul une fiez manger est nuisance;  
Mes dous fiez le jur manger itant  
A gros home e gras est nuisant;  
<sup>1</sup> Mes a gent ke travaillent mult esovent  
Mester unt de gros nurissement,  
E a ces ke travaillent poi ou nient 2030  
Leger nurissement covient.  
Dunt a quere sunt viandes, sanz fable,  
K'a chescun .i. costume est profitable.

Il sout avenir mut sovent  
Ke de male viande nurissement  
A aucun esteit profitable,  
E bones viandes a aucun nusable;  
Dunt la costume covient sivre  
Ke profite, e l'autre eschivre.  
Dunt, sil i a aucun nurissement 2040  
Ke bien fait a aucun, dunt a talent,  
Mes ke pas bone chose ne seit,  
Sun appetit paer en deit  
Si trop mauveis ne seit le manger  
(Kar teu viande fet a lesser).  
Mes ne purquant l'en ne deit pas user  
Tut jurs mal nurissement manger,  
E ki ke le fet devez saver  
Ke medicines covient sovent user 2049  
Keles humurs males, de ceo engendrez,  
Par destemprure seient en getez;  
E apres l'ore ke mangé a  
Teu viande si mangerá  
<sup>2</sup> Ou beivre aucune chose deit  
Ke meins mal face, k'en tempré seit  
Ausi come apres le dirrum  
E, si Deu plest, enseignerum.

Sacez ke de male degestiuñ  
Corumpue est l'encheisun  
Ke l'en en un sul manger prent 2060  
Diverse viandes ensemblement,

E la grant demuere ensemement  
Entre la fin e le commencement.

Estre ceo, en yver quant fet freit  
Covient ke viande chaude seit,  
E en esté devez user  
Viande freide a tun manger.  
Ne viande ke tantost vient del fiu  
Si chaud ne deit pas estre receu;  
Ne viande ke seit come neif freit 2070  
Nul manger ne user ne deit,  
Kar viande k'ad freidure tant  
Nul ne deit user, for adunke quant  
Est le tens de chaliene grant  
Quant le cors ert come feu ardant.

E si devez ausi saver  
K'en hure freide fet dreit manger;  
E si hore freide aver ne poez  
Freide mansuins suaveaus eez.

<sup>3</sup> E si deit en tel hore manger 2080  
Ke l'en pusse apres dormir e repose.

Le fruit ke l'en manger deit  
Avant autre mangiers mangié seit,  
Si ceo ne seit teu manere de fruit  
Ke lunge en l'estomac gist descenduit,  
Come est fruit acetus e pomiant,  
Come poine gernette e autre freidant;  
Mes ki l'un poi ent prendre vent  
Par medicine bien fere le puet.  
Mes mieuz vaut a santé garder 2090  
Tuz fruiz freis del tut lesser,  
Ou si l'en rien en manger deit  
Ke de petite quantité seit;  
Des quels ki ke mut en eit mangez  
Par mescine apres en seit purgez,  
E travail ausi e exercice<sup>4</sup>  
Sucur eu est de oster malice.

E si fet mut a desporter  
Les fruiz ke freiz sunt a manger  
For quant avez travallé le jur 2100  
E ke sentez en l'estomac ardur.  
Les fruiz freiz dunt parog cest hure<sup>5</sup>  
Sunt figes e grapes e peire e mure.  
E pus apres quant est mangié  
Le fruit k'ai ore avant nomé,  
<sup>6</sup> Aucune piece covint ke atiegne

Line 2018 *Of the number of meals.*  
poison. 2058 *It is bad to eat many different things at one meal.* 2064 *Eat warm food in winter and cold in summer,* 2068 *but never eat meat hot from the fire,* 2071 *and never ice-cold food,* 2073 *except in time of great heat.*  
2076 *Eat in the cool of the day.* 2082 *Of the eating of fruit.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 193 r<sup>o</sup> a.    <sup>2</sup> f. 193 r<sup>o</sup> b.    <sup>3</sup> f. 193 v<sup>o</sup> a.    <sup>4</sup> l. 2096, exercice] MS.  
exercice.    <sup>5</sup> l. 2102, hure] MS. hore.    <sup>6</sup> f. 193 v<sup>o</sup> b.

Avant ceo k'autre viande preigne.

E de engroture, saciez le bien,  
Deit eschivre sur tute rien ;  
E s'il avint a aucun k'engroté seit 2110  
Icel jur plus manger ne deit,  
E le jur ensivant deit manger  
Petit, e chose ke seit legier.  
Mes si mut des jurs continualment  
Seit engruté veirement  
Medicine dunc prendre deit,  
Mes ke trop destemprant ne seit,  
Sulum ceo k'est en art livre  
De mescine, e mestres unt enseigné.  
Une manere i ad de gent 2120  
As quels saciez verement  
Ke grosse viande en tute manere  
Mut mieuz lur vaut ke la legiere ;  
Dunt l'en deit bailer a teu gent  
Viande k'a lur estomac apent  
E a ces ke l'estomac contrarie unt,  
Viande contraries receiverunt.  
Jeske

En governement de beivre saciez  
Ke ceste reule tenir devez  
Ke eue jun pas ne bevez 2130  
Jeske tant ke vus eez mangez  
<sup>1</sup> E jeske les parties del ventre amunt  
Aukes alegié apres serrunt ;  
Mes neupurquant si vus en bevez  
Pur seif estancher ke vus avez  
Un petitet adunc en bevez  
Mes ne mie ke seez ensartiez.  
Mes pus ke les parties del ventre amunt,  
Come dis avant, alegié serrunt,  
E<sup>2</sup> la viande descendue seit, 2140  
Dunt fet a beivre a bon espleit  
Ou de eue ou de vin asez  
Jeske om seit bien asartiez.

Mes a eschivre fet sur tute rien  
D'eue de neif beivre rien.  
Ne al manger ne bevez mie  
For eue ke seit bien refreidie ;  
E beivre de freit eue un petit  
Saciez bien k'asez suffit.

De eue de neif fet a garder 2150  
De beivre a ces, deves saver,  
Ke les nerfs e digestiun fible unt,  
E as quels l'estomac e feie freiz sunt,

Line 2108 *Avoid a surfeit.*  
the food has reached the stomach.  
2156 except a hot-blooded man.  
after violent exercise. 2172 *The danger of drinking too much water.*

*Endure your thirst, and it will pass.*

E as quels sunt les esperiz,  
Come pres degastez, trop sutiz ;  
Mes home charnus, ke mut sanc a,  
E la colur vermaille avera,  
<sup>3</sup> E avera bien fort le talent,  
Beive cist eue hardiemment. 2159  
Mes nul juvene home beivre ne deit  
Eue, si tres grant ardur n'eit,  
Ou ke surpris seit de yveresce,  
Ke seif le mette en trop destresce.  
Ensuri&etut eschivre deit chescun  
De beivre mut eue quant serra jun,  
E apres bain, e apres travail tant  
Ke passe force e seit nuisant ;  
Mes s'il covint ke l'en freit eue beive  
Un poi e petit e petit receive,  
E le face issi cointement 2170  
Jeske passé seit le talent.

Ki mut eue beit en verité  
E la seif en seit plus enoité,  
La nervuse char k'en l'estomac a  
Par passiun se estendera,  
E la buche k'al estomac afiert  
Desuz estoupé e constreint iert ;  
E, pus ke l'estomac est si tendu,  
La force dunc li est tolu  
Ke n'a pas dunke le poer 2180  
L'eue as entrailles de geter,  
E les veines del fai ke i sunt  
L'eue entreire ne purrunt,  
<sup>4</sup> Dunt la faie rien ne receit  
Ke aide ou cumfort li serreit,  
Einz remeint chaud veralement  
E d'autre eue ad le talent,  
E tant come plus eue bevera  
Tant plus l'estomac s'estendra.  
Etendu ert en cel endroit 2190  
Jeske tant enmoli seit,  
E quant sa molesce aura  
L'estomac en bon point serra.

Beivre eue de nuit, devez saver,  
Ne deit om mie, mes desporter.

E si aucun beit eue sovent  
E apres plus en ad talent,  
De beivre dunc se deit detenir  
E la seif mut covient suffrir,  
Kar ki ke ceo seit ke issi le fra 2200  
La seif, saciez, tost s'en irra.

2128 *Of drinking.* 2129 *Drink only after*  
*water.* 2144 *No man should drink snow-water,*  
2164 *Do not drink much water fasting, or*  
*after violent exercise.* 2172 *The danger of drinking too much water.* 2196 *If*  
*drinking aggravates thirst, endure your thirst, and it will pass.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 194 r<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>2</sup> l. 2140, E] MS. en.

<sup>3</sup> f. 194 r<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>4</sup> f. 194 v<sup>o</sup> a.

Home familus ki ke ceo seit  
 Vin ne beive, kar fere nel deit;  
 Ne apres bain, ne apres manger  
 Egre, ne apres trop travailler,  
 Ne apres ceo ke de la viande seit  
 Ensaulé vin beivre ne deit  
 Jeske tant ke le manger receu  
 Seit en l'estomac bien descendu;  
<sup>1</sup> Ne apres yveresce ne glotonie 2210  
 Vin a beivre ne fet mie.  
 Ne si ne deit de vin tant estre beau  
 Ke l'estomac seit grevé ou tendu,  
 Si issi ne seit k'aucun le voler  
 Apres le beivre ert sei mediciner.

Chescun eslire deit sanz fable  
 Le vin ke plus est profitable,  
 Kar mut i ad en veritez  
 Eu plusurs vins diversitez.  
 Ne si n'est a nule manere a user 2220  
 A home suuent sei enyverer,  
 Kar mutes maladies suuent  
 Engendre yveresce verairement;  
 Mes ke une feiz ou douz le meinz beit  
 Tant k'enyveré apres en seit  
 Valer li peut verairement,  
 Issi ke nel face trop suuent.

Chescun teu vin deit user  
 K'a sa nature puet profiter.

Une gent sunt, devez saver, 2230  
 Ke sanz vin ne purrunt manger;  
 E autre gent sunt sanz durance  
 Ke de vin beivre unt grevance,  
 Es quels le manger od vin beau  
 Est en l'estomac corumphi,  
<sup>2</sup> E replecun fet e engrulement,  
 E fievres engendre ensement.

De cest treité plus ne troval,  
 Mes plus i ad, tresbien le sai,  
 Kar devant en cest liveret 2240  
 Tuche choses ke il premet  
 En meismes cest livre a treiter  
 Dunt rien ne poie apres trover.  
 Mes pus ke si est asez, suffit

Line 2202 *Of the times when wine-drinking is harmful.* 2216 *Choose a suitable wine.* 2220 *Do not get drunk often,* 2224 *but to do so once or twice is profitable.* 2230 *Some natures need wine,* 2232 *to others it is harmful.* 2237 *End of Treatise.* 2238 *A part of the treatise is evidently lost.* 2244 *But the teaching of the existing portion suffices for the good government of soul and body.* 2254 *Of the value of this treatise as regards the body.* 2262 *It deals with the needs of hot countries.* 2268 *The customs of particular countries must be considered,* 2282 *and of particular people.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 194 v<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>2</sup> f. 195 r<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>3</sup> l. 2253, alme] MS. alme alme.

<sup>4</sup> f. 195 r<sup>o</sup> b.

l. 2271, retreire]

<sup>6</sup> f. 195 v<sup>o</sup> a.

Aparmemes ceo k'ai escrit  
 E del ensampleire translaté,  
 Kar ki ke veot en vérité  
 Entendre le e ovrer apres  
 Prudume serra tenu ades,  
 Kar entendre puet e saver dreit 2250  
 Coment en vertuz aver se deit,  
 E endreit sei meimes, saciez de fi,  
 Quant al cors e al alme<sup>3</sup> ausi.

A entendre fet tant nekedent  
 Ke nature se diverse de gent  
 Sulum costume e naciun  
 Diverse, e diverse complexiun,  
 E divers liu e regiun ;  
 Dunt par iceste reisun  
 En diete deit om ceo garder 2260  
 Tuei a ki dreit puet valer.  
<sup>4</sup> Dunt medicine k'est ici tuchée  
 En chaude terres fu trovez,  
 Ne ne vaut pas a tuz generaument,  
 De diverses regiuns a gent,  
 Fors sulum mescine generale  
 Ke costume fet especiale ;  
 Kar costume en norissement  
 Mescine est a tute gent—  
 Si la custume male ne seit, 2270  
 De la quele retreire<sup>5</sup> chescun se deit  
 Petit e petit, pur sei user  
 De bone custume purchacer.  
 E ke si garde sa nature  
 Ke male costume ne la pust nure ;  
 C'est ore generale reisun  
 Ke diete en chescun regiun.

Mes en chescune veirement  
 I ad grant difference de gent,  
 E les regiuns diverses sunt, 2280  
 Pur ceo diverses costumes unt.

Ausi en une regiun  
 Diversent gent par complexiun  
 E par costumes ensement,  
 As quels diverse diete apent,  
 Pur ceo a chescun veirement  
 Medicine especiale apent.

<sup>6</sup> Pur ceo le di, nel voil celer,

Kar ne fet pas trop a fier  
En l'art de medicine avant nomee, 2290  
Fors en la terre ou fu trovee,  
E ceo ke puet a tuz generaument  
Profiter, sulum ceo ke apent  
Par costume bone e par entempreure,  
Ke trop ou tropoi ne pust nure,  
E face apres le document  
Aristotle sulum ceo k'apent  
(Mes tute veis bon est e reisun  
De fere le par discretiun),  
Kar ne meffra pas legierement 2300  
Cil ke de sage cunseil enprent.

Endreit del alme devez saver  
Ke crestien bien se puet sauver  
S'il fet sulum le document  
Des vertuz ke cest livre aprent.  
Mes ceo ne vus dei jeo pas celer  
K'a Giu n'a paien ne puet valer  
Fors seulement a eschivre peine,  
Mes en joie del ciel pas ne les mene  
Pur ceo ke creance lur faut, 2310  
Esperance e charite ke tut vaut ;  
Kar ki ke faut del fundement,  
L'overe perit tut pleinement.

<sup>1</sup> Le fundement de nostre creance  
E de tuz vertuz lenseverance  
Est Jhesu Crist le sauveur,  
Le fiz Deu nostre creatur ;  
Il est charite e nostre creance,  
Il est del tut nostre esperance.  
Les quatre vertuz d'enfermement, 2320  
Ke nomai au commencement,  
E dunt est en<sup>2</sup> cest livre treitez,  
Profitent s'il scienc acoplez  
A fei e esperance e cherite  
Ke vertuz sunt de divinité.  
Kar profiter ne purrunt autrement  
D'avoir la joie ke fin ne prent ;  
Kar par bone e dreite creance  
Avum de gloire esperance,  
Mes n'est pas dreite creance nume, 2330  
Ne esperance, sanz charite ;  
Ne charite n'est nule sanz creance  
Ne l'un ne l'autre sanz esperance.  
Kar issi sunt encheenez,  
Si avez une, trestuz avez,  
E si une des vertuz vus faut  
L'afere des autres poi vus vaut.  
Dunt l'en puet overes de pitie fere,

Mes poi amument sanz bien ercre ;  
<sup>3</sup> N'est pas nume charite, 2340  
Sanz creance, ovre de pitie.

D'autre part si aucun eroit  
Sulum seinte eglise a dreit,  
Ses ovres bones sunt sanz charite  
S'il seit en mortel pechete ;  
Mes ne purquant bon est de bien fere  
Pur grace aver de pechete retriere.  
Mes tant come home git en pechete  
Creance e esperance e charitee  
E trestutes les autres vertuz 2350  
A sauver home sunt trestuz miz ;  
Dunt meske paens bons scienc en sei  
Vertuz ne profitent pas sanz fei,  
Fors seulement, en verite,  
Ke<sup>4</sup> n'aurunt peine fors de oscurte.

Mes crestien ke gist en pechete,  
Ke purreit, s'il vosist, estre sauve  
Par bons ovres e sa creance,  
Si ne veut aver repentance  
Cist ert en peine pleinement 2360  
E en oscurte sanz finement.

En un livre ke fes ai jad  
De ceste matire treitié i ad,  
E mut des choses, saciez, sanz fable,  
K'al alme d'umme sunt profitable ;  
<sup>5</sup> Le livre, en verite saciez,  
'La Lumiere as Lais' si est nomez.  
Pur ceo n'en voil ore plus treiter,  
Ne cest ne faz for pur adrecer  
Cest livre, par dreit entendement 2370  
A acumplic le ensurement.  
Kar ore pert, ceo semble, sanz respit,  
Coment cest livre ad dreit profit  
Par creance od l'enjustement  
De esperance e charite ensement.

Mes ore priez, pur Deu amur,  
En ceste fin pur le translatur  
De cest livre, ke Piere ad nun,  
K'estreit est de ces de Abernun,  
Ke de bien fere doint sa grace ; 2380  
E a nus tuz issi le face,  
Ke le regne pussum merir  
Ke done a suens a sun plaisir.  
Amen.

Line 2302 *Of the value of this treatise as regards the soul.* 2306 *To follow its teaching would not save an unbeliever.* 2320 *Of Faith, Hope, and Charity.*  
2330 *They are inseparable.* 2342 *A Christian who sins is without Charity.*  
2346 *But his creed and good works will help to raise him.* 2352 *Good works cannot save a heathen, but will lessen his pains.* 2356 *A Christian who persists in sin will be lost utterly.* 2362 *Of the 'Lumiere as Lais'.* 2376 *Play for Piere d'Abernun, who translated this book.*

<sup>1</sup> f. 195 v<sup>o</sup> b.

<sup>2</sup> l. 2322, est en<sup>1</sup> MS. en est.

<sup>3</sup> f. 196 r<sup>o</sup> a.

<sup>4</sup> l. 2355, Ke<sup>1</sup> MS. Ka.

<sup>5</sup> f. 196 r<sup>o</sup> b.

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89, l. 27		scilicet exterius,
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